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ANTINOMIANISM.



ANTINOMIANISM

IN THE COLONY OF

MASSACHUSETTS BAY,

1636-1638.

INCLUDING

THE SHORT STORY AND OTHER DOCUMENTS.

EDITED BY

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Boston:

PUBLISHED BY THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

1894.

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Preface.

I QUESTION whether there is, in the literary way, anything pleasanter than editorial work of the kind involved in preparing this volume, when that work is undertaken with proper facilities; when performed under difficulties, few things are more irksome.

The last edition of the *Short Story* was brought out just two centuries ago. To edit and anotate properly another edition now, implies a constant reference to books but few copies of which are known to exist. If the use of those copies is restricted, the labor of editing becomes almost intolerable, involving possibly a day's journey in search of a statement or to verify a reference.

In finishing my work on this volume, I wish, therefore, to express my sense of the obligation I have been under while engaged in it to John Nicholas Brown, of Providence, the present owner of the invaluable John Carter Brown collection, and to Mrs. Charles Deane, of Cambridge. The liberality with which Mrs. Deane — following in that respect the large-minded practice of her late husband — and Mr. Brown — as his father before him — allow the treasures they control to go out to meet scholarly needs, is nothing less than a public benefaction.

C. F. A.

QUINCY, MASS., November, 1893





Introduction by the Editor.

BOSWELL'S *Tour to the Hebrides* was published in 1785, and his *Life of Johnson* six years later, in 1791; but not until 1831 did John Wilson Croker, the third editor of the *Life*, incorporate, at the suggestion apparently of Walter Scott and Lockhart,¹ the first published episode in its proper place in the completed narrative.

The *Short Story*, as it is commonly called, bore much the same relation to Winthrop's *History of New England* that Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides* did to the *Life of Johnson*. In the preface to his edition Mr. Croker not only referred to the *Tour* as part of Boswell's *Johnson*, but he did not hesitate to pronounce it "the most original, curious, and amusing portion of the whole" book; and very similar language might with propriety be used of the *Short Story* in connection with Winthrop's *History*: for, written by the same hand as the *History*, though published under different circumstances and long anterior to it, the *Short Story* gave a graphic and detailed account of certain occurrences, only a comparatively brief summary of which is contained in the more comprehensive work. To the importance of those occurrences in his own estimate Winthrop bore emphatic testimony

¹ Croker's *Correspondence and Diaries*, Vol. I. p. 427.

testimony by writing down at the time his own account of them, and sending that account to England for publication there,—something he is not known to have done on any other occasion; and in confirmation of that judgment, looking back through the historical perspective of more than two hundred and fifty years, it is no exaggeration now to say that in the early story of New England subsequent to the settlement of Boston, there was in truth no episode more characteristic, more interesting, or more far-reaching in its consequences, than the so-called Antinomian controversy. As a designation, “Antinomian” is in this case a thorough misnomer,—an epithet of opprobrium, rather than a name, affixed by a triumphant faction upon one defeated and exiled, which ever refused to accept it. Nevertheless, though two centuries and a half have since elapsed, it is still referred to as “the Antinomian controversy” by the historical student; though to the general reader the words convey only a vague idea of some incomprehensible theological complication long past and now happily forgotten.

In the theological sense, an Antinomian has been defined as “one who maintains that Christians are freed from the moral law, as set forth in the Old Testament, by the new dispensation of grace as set forth in the gospel; an opponent of legalism in morals. Antinomianism has existed in three forms: in the early church, as a species of Gnosticism, in the doctrine that sin is an incident of the body, and that a regenerate soul cannot sin; later, in the Reformation, as a reaction against the doctrine of good works in the Roman Catholic Church, in the antagonistic doctrine that man is saved by faith alone, regardless of his obedience to or disobedience

dience of the moral law as a rule of life; finally, as a phase of extreme Calvinism, in English Puritan theology, in the doctrine that the sins of the elect are so transferred to Christ that they become his transgressions, and cease to be the transgressions of the actual sinner."¹

"In Europe the sect known as Antinomians were the disciples of John Agricola, a tailor, born at Eislaban in 1492, afterwards a university scholar, rector, and preacher, and in 1526 chaplain of the Elector of Saxony at the Diet of Spire. As a disciple and worker with, and afterward an opponent of, Luther and Melancthon, he carried to extreme the doctrine of the former of justification by faith, in opposition to the Roman Church doctrine of good works. He afterward renounced his errors. Both his disciples and his enemies perverted doctrines which he had carefully and guardedly defined. So Antinomianism came to stand for — what the authorities of Massachusetts held it to be — a grossly immoral doctrine, superseding the need of good works, and reaching the monstrous conclusion that nothing which a believer might do could be sin."² And this general acceptance of the term Antinomian was reflected in the warning words of John Wheelwright to those listening to his famous Fast-day sermon of 1637, that they should in life so bear themselves "that we give not others to say we are libertines or Antinomians."³

As the twig is bent the tree inclines. Massachusetts was at the period of the Antinomian controversy in "the twig," — not yet past the years of human infancy; and it is no exaggeration

¹ *Century Dictionary*.

² Ellis, *Puritan Age in Massachusetts*, pp. 322, 323.

³ Bell's *Wheelwright*, p. 173.

exaggeration to say that the outcome of the controversy influenced the course of Massachusetts development both perceptibly and gravely through more than a century and a half. In point of fact, we can now see that in 1636 the nascent community came to a place where the roads forked. The issue between religious toleration and a compelled theological conformity was, as a matter of established policy, then to be decided. It was decided. And the decision reached was final so far as colonial and provincial Massachusetts was concerned. In other words, it held through the lives of five generations.

In its earliest days there was in the Massachusetts settlement a strong and outspoken element of intellectual inquiry and religious protest. It found intelligent expression in Roger Williams and Sir Harry Vane, and inarticulate expression in Anne Hutchinson. Roger Williams did not lack sympathy and support in his church and among his neighbors;¹ while Vane, as is well known, numbered among his active adherents the great majority of those dwelling in Boston. These two both then and afterwards represented the ideas of extreme civil liberty and religious tolerance. The evidence is unmistakable that in the early period the environment was most favorable to the reception of those ideas. The *Short Story* is in itself conclusive on that point. The issue was presented, confusedly it is true, but still after a fashion, in the written controversy carried on between Vane and

¹ Cotton states explicitly "that the increase of concourse of people to [Williams] on the Lords dayes in private, to the neglect or deserting of publick Ordinances . . . provoked the Magif-

trates . . . to put upon him a winters journey out of the Countrey." — *Answer to Master Roger Williams*, p. 57. Publications of Narragansett Club, Vol. 11. p. 93.

and Winthrop in November, 1636; and these papers constitute, as it were, the pleadings in a great cause.¹ The decision took shape in the outcome of the Antinomian controversy. It was unmistakable, and, as the result showed, irreversible. For good or evil, it committed Massachusetts to a policy of strict religious conformity. Hence its historical significance.² The domination established in 1637 was not seriously shaken until 1819, when at last the Unitarian movement, under Channing, brought about, so far as Massachusetts was concerned, results to Calvinistic theology similar to those which, upon the larger stage, the theories of Darwin worked half a century later on the Mosaic account of the origin of man.

Owing to this historical importance and its far-reaching effects, the Antinomian controversy has, almost as matter of course, been, and indeed still is, debatable ground, repeatedly fought over by historical writers. Every line of evidence bearing upon it has been carefully scanned. But, after all, the great body of this evidence is comprised within a very narrow compass, — a few paragraphs in Winthrop's *History* and the *Short Story*.

In bringing out, therefore, after an interval of almost exactly two centuries,³ a new edition of the *Short Story*, it is not necessary to preface it with any detailed account of the controversy of which that book is the original narrative. The history of the controversy can be read in Hutchinson's *Massachusetts*, the author of which was a lineal descendant of

¹ *Infra*, p. 139, n.

² This subject is discussed in detail in Adams's *Massachusetts: Its History and its History*. That study, it may be here added, was suggested by the preparation of this volume, and was

originally intended to be a part of it. For obvious reasons it subsequently assumed an independent shape.

³ The last previous edition, copies of which are not uncommon, was published in London in 1692.

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of Mistress Hutchinson; it was again told by Dr. George E. Ellis in his *Life of Anne Hutchinson* in Sparks's American Biography, and retold by him after the lapse of nearly half a century in the ninth chapter of his *Puritan Age in Massachusetts*. Dr. Palfrey devoted to it almost the whole of Chapter XII. of his *History*; and Charles H. Bell went minutely over the same ground in his memoir prefixed to the *John Wheelwright* volume in the publications of this Society. John A. Vinton, in 1873, wrote a series of four articles in the *Congregational Quarterly*, subsequently published separately, in which he attempted a full and complete defence of the course pursued by Winthrop and his associates. The other side of the issue is more or less fully presented in the two biographies of Vane by Upham and Hosmer. Finally "The Antinomian Controversy" constitutes the second part of the *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, by the editor of the present volume.

It remains, therefore, only to speak of the authorship of the *Short Story*; the circumstances under which it was first printed; and the curious bibliographical interest which has since attached to it.

X The events which led to the preparation of the *Short Story* all took place during the eighteen months between November, 1636, and May, 1638. The General Court before which, while holding its sittings in Cambridge, the trial of Mrs. Hutchinson took place, met on the 2^d of November, and closed its sittings on the 20th of the same month. Besides trying and convicting Mrs. Hutchinson, it had recourse to proceedings against the whole body of her adherents, resulting in the disfranchisement

franchisement and banishment of a large number. Writing manifestly at some time subsequent to the adjournment of the Court on the ^{20th}/_{20th} of November, Governor Winthrop made a general entry in his Journal under date of the 1st of that month, in which, after referring in some detail to what had been done during the sessions of the Court, he added: "All the proceedings of this court against these persons were set down at large, with the reasons and other observations, and were sent into England to be published there, to the end that all our godly friends might not be discouraged from coming to us,"¹ etc. There was no printing-press then in America, and a comparison of the text of Winthrop's *Journal* with that of the *Short Story* shows conclusively that the manuscript of the *Short Story* was referred to in the foregoing extract from the *Journal*, and that it was prepared by Winthrop.

The purpose of Winthrop in thus writing down and sending to England an account of these proceedings is obvious. He wished, in his paternal care for the infant colony, to anticipate and forestall hostile criticism. The harsh and intolerant policy pursued from the beginning in Massachusetts towards all intruders and dissentients had excited no little comment in England, and led to hostile proceedings, causing remonstrances from the friends of the enterprise. A renewal of these adverse comments, and subsequent remonstrances, might fairly be looked for as soon as the tidings of the decisive action of the General Court of November, 1637, reached England; for that action amounted to nothing less than a proscription. Moreover, prior to the General Court of November, the preceding

Court.

¹ Savage's *Winthrop*, Vol. 1. p. * 248.

Court, held in June of the same year, had, with a view to preventing any increase of the minority faction in the Colony through immigration, enacted an alien law, forbidding any town or person under heavy penalties from receiving any strangers "resorting hither with intent to reside," or allowing any such to remain within the colonial limits for above three weeks without a magistrate's permission.¹ The whole body of the magistrates, it was well known, belonged to the dominant party. This act was passed in June, and in July one party at least of emigrants had landed in Boston, to those composing which the provisions of the act were applied. Notwithstanding the hardship involved, a delay of only four months in the enforcement of the law could be obtained, within which time the immigrants in question were compelled to find a place of refuge without the Massachusetts jurisdiction. The four months expired in November, when the general banishment of the minority was entered upon; and under these circumstances it required no foresight on the part of the leaders of the dominant party to make them realize that a host of letters then were, or soon would be, on the way to England, which could hardly fail to give a serious check to that westward movement of population which was vital to Massachusetts. Certainly people would hesitate long before embarking themselves and their effects for a distant shore, where, upon their arrival, they were to be met with a positive inhibition to remain except with the permission of a magistrate.

The task of preparing an account of the proceedings in question which should counteract the effect of these rumors and letters was naturally assigned to Winthrop; and with his

¹ *Infra*, p. 139, n.

his eager interest in the welfare of the colony, it would be safe to assume that he lost no time in addressing himself to his work. On this point the internal evidence is conclusive not only of agency in preparation,¹ but of the time when the work was done. The account of the proceedings of the General Court against Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson was prepared in Boston between the 1st of December, 1637, and the middle of March, 1638.² The "Briefe Apologie" had been prepared earlier, between the adjournment of the March General Court of 1637 and the meeting of the November Court of the same year;³ but it was subsequently revised by its author, and the references in its concluding lines⁴ show that these at least were written in the early days of March, 1638.

Having thus received final revision, the internal evidence further indicates that all the documents were hurried off to England by some vessel sailing late in March or early in April, 1638.

Apparently six years then elapsed before the manuscript was printed; or, if any printed edition of it earlier than that of 1644 was published, no copy of it has ever come to light. Not that it can, for this reason, be assumed positively that there was no earlier edition, possibly with another titlepage; but if such an edition was printed, it was probably small, and brought out with a wholly different end from that in view in the edition of 1644. It would have been designed to circulate solely through the friends of the company, and been placed in the hands of the ministers of those churches the whole or a portion of the members of which were contemplating

¹ *Infra*, pp. 143-144, 158, 186, 187-190, 233.

² *Infra*, p. 186, note 2.

³ *Infra*, p. 144.

⁴ *Infra*, pp. 231, note 1, 233.

templating a transfer to New England. It hardly needs be said that under such circumstances the chances would be largely against the preservation of copies.

Again, in his preface to the edition of 1644, the Rev. Thomas Welde speaks of it as a book then "newly come forth of the Presse." Had there been a prior edition, Welde could hardly have been ignorant of it; though, on the other hand, it is still possible he might in his note to the reader of a new edition, brought out in 1644, and published, as will presently be seen, with a distinct and novel end in view, have ignored a small earlier edition, printed six years previously for a different purpose and with another title, and then wholly forgotten. While, therefore, all these possibilities exist, the probabilities are that the edition of 1644 was the earliest printed publication of the *Short Story*, and accordingly that it remained in manuscript in England for six years after its arrival. As Winthrop distinctly says that he prepared it to be "sent into England to be published there," the reasons which induced the friends of the colony thus to suppress it, if they did suppress it, can now only be surmised. In order to establish any plausible theory in the case, it will be necessary to review briefly the course of events at about that time both in Great Britain and in New England.

While in 1638 the intercourse between England and Massachusetts was very great and tolerably constant, it was far from regular, the great body of movement being westward during the spring and early summer, while during the later summer and autumn it was eastward. In other words, immigrants came out to New England during the first half of the year, and the vessels which brought them out went
back

back to Great Britain later in the season, either directly or by way of the southern ports. The average direct voyage occupied some sixty days. Accordingly while, during the months from May to August, news from England would reach Boston almost daily, from September to April it would come at long intervals only. In England these conditions were reversed, the outgoing fleet of the spring and early summer finding its way home all through the autumn and winter.

Thus it often happened that the two countries were mentally not in touch; that is, at any given time they might not in London and in Boston be thinking of the same public events. This could hardly have failed to be the case in 1638. In the summer of 1637 the aspect of political affairs in England was more favorable to the court party than ever before or after. The outlook was so discouraging for the advocates of parliamentary government that the leaders were losing all hope. The *quo warranto* proceedings against the Massachusetts company for the revocation of the charter had been long pending in the court of King's Bench, and an adverse decision was looked for at each term of the court. It was in fact reached at the Easter term, 1637, and a judgment declaring the charter vacated then entered.¹ The King had publicly declared his intention to appoint Sir Ferdinando Gorges the Governor-General of New England, thus taking into his own hands the entire government of the colonies. The Board of Lords Commissioners for Foreign Plantations, at the head of which was Archbishop Laud, was in the plenitude of its power, and merely waiting the decision

¹ Palfrey, Vol. I. p. 504, n.

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7 decision of the King's Bench to begin active operations on the lines indicated by Gorges; and this was proven by the fact that on the 26th of June George Cleeves, just landing in Boston, handed Governor Winthrop a species of commission issued by the Board, creating a provisional government for New England, to act until final order should be made as to the governor-generalship. Hampden's great ship-money case was also pending, and what the decision of the twelve judges would be was more than surmised. Everything promised well for King Charles.

Such was the condition of affairs in London in the summer of 1637, and such must have continued to be their aspect in Boston until the close of the year, and the time when the manuscript of the *Short Story* was prepared. But in Great Britain events big with consequences had in the mean time taken place. Sunday, the 23d of July, 1637, had been selected by Archbishop Laud as the date for establishing in the churches of Scotland the ceremonial of the Church of England. The famous "Stony Sabbath" was the result, and then and there began that succession of events which resulted in the great English Civil War.

X When, therefore, Winthrop penned the *Short Story* in Boston, he did it with a ~~view to the peaceful aspect~~ of public affairs in the summer of 1637; when the manuscript reached London, it was read by those who saw public affairs in their stormy spring outlook of 1638. A great change had taken place. The eyes of King and Archbishop were now directed toward Scotland; their minds were intent on disorders, but not the disorders which troubled Massachusetts. It was the same throughout England. It would therefore seem wholly natural

natural that the friends of the colony in London should, after reading Winthrop's manuscript, conclude that the purpose for which it was designed could be accomplished quite as effectively without making any public printed use of it. The events narrated in it and the public policy which it was intended to explain had not attracted the attention which Winthrop assumed, or called forth the criticism he feared. Accordingly it might be wise not to invite unnecessary discussion. Possibly a few manuscript copies of the *Short Story*, in whole or in part, were made; but the original, whether for the reasons given or for other reasons, seems to have remained quietly in London from the summer of 1638 until 1644.

During those six years many things happened on both sides of the Atlantic. In the mother country, for the reason which has been stated, the so-called Antinomian controversy seems never, even among the friends of the colony, to have excited more than a languid interest. The public mind was intent on other issues. It was full of the events then taking place in Scotland, and cared nothing for Massachusetts, while by those in England who felt towards the colonists no kindly interest, the Antinomian controversy, if considered at all, was probably looked upon as merely a meaningless feud in a family of fanatics. In New England, on the other hand, the excitement of 1637 had in 1644 become an unfavorable memory.¹ The Rev. John Wheelwright, having passed
six

¹ "Such as endeavored the healing of these distempers did seem to me to be transported with more jealousies and heats and paroxysms of spirit, than would well stand with brotherly love, or the

rule of the Gospel. The bitter fruits whereof do remain to this day [1648] in the letters sent over that year from hence to England." — COTTON'S *Way Cleared*, p. 62. *Infra*, pp. 359-362.

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six years at Exeter, N. H., had in the spring of 1643 found himself compelled to abandon that place of exile, over which the jurisdiction of Massachusetts had been extended; for in Massachusetts he was still under the ban. After leaving Exeter he had sat down in Wells in what is now the State of Maine, and later in the year was corresponding with the General Court of Massachusetts with a view to the revocation of his act of banishment. Accordingly on the 29th of May, 1644, it was ordered that "Mr. Wheelwright hath his banishment taken off, and is received in as a member of this commonwealth." Winthrop, who succeeded Vane as governor of the colony in May, 1637, had himself been replaced by Dudley in 1640, and again returned to office as the successor to Bellingham in 1642. Now, after serving two years, in May, 1644, he gave way to Endicott. John Cotton was still ministering as teacher of the church of Boston over which Wilson continued as minister; but Thomas Welde had in August, 1641, gone back to England in company with Hugh Peter, and was not destined ever to return to Boston. Anne Hutchinson having removed from Rhode Island to New York, or as the localities were then called, from Aquidneck to Manhattan, she, with all the members of her family then with her, except one daughter, was there, in August, 1642, set upon by the savages and massacred.

In January, 1644, therefore, the memory of the controversy of 1636-8 had faded out in Massachusetts except in the minds and memories of the clergy. Other issues had come to the front. The colony was no longer in continual apprehension of the loss of its charter, or the arrival of Sir Ferdinando Gorges as the King's Governor-General; for

two years before, Charles I. had left London, never to return there except as a prisoner, and on September 22 of the same year, 1642, the first skirmish of the civil war had taken place. The friends of the colony were in complete control of the Parliament, and Massachusetts no longer had anything to apprehend from that quarter. It was left to care for itself.

As issue after issue presented itself, the public mind had accordingly for years been occupied with a wholly new class of questions. The long struggle between the magistrates and the deputies which originated in 1636 in the quarrel between Captain Keayne and the widow Sherman over the straying sow of the latter, resulted, in June, 1644, in the division of the legislature into two independent chambers. In 1643 the first New England confederation was formed; and in the early months of 1644 the minds of the rulers of Massachusetts were altogether intent on the Indian complications with the Narragansetts, the bickerings with the settlers of Rhode Island, the complaints of the Dutch authorities at New Amsterdam over the Connecticut encroachments, and the warlike operations of La Tour and D'Aulnay in Nova Scotia. Thus, in Massachusetts, it was as if Sir Henry Vane and Anne Hutchinson had never been, and his unprinted account of the Antinomian controversy must have almost faded from Winthrop's mind. Certainly no cause for the printing of the forgotten manuscript can be found, or even suggested, in the condition of affairs in New England at that time; and it is to the last degree improbable that any movement towards its publication emanated from Boston.

But

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But in the British Islands the case stood otherwise. On that side of the Atlantic history was being made rapidly. New questions had come to the front; and as usual in troublous, active times, the advanced thinker of yesterday found himself the conservative of to-day. The voice of the radical was heard in the land; and young Sir Henry Vane was the typical radical in England. Returning home in the early autumn of 1637, Vane represented Kingston upon Hull in what is known as the Short Parliament, summoned by Charles in consequence of the Scotch complications in the spring of 1640; and he was again returned by the same constituency to the Long Parliament, which assembled in the following September. It is not necessary in this connection to narrate in detail the course of subsequent events; but, coming at once to the year preceding the publication of the *Short Story*, the famous Westminster Assembly met in Henry the Seventh's chapel on Saturday, July 1, 1643. In the subsequent sessions of that Assembly, the first real English battle over religious toleration was fought out, and it was in connection with that battle the *Short Story* appeared in print, — it was in fact one of the pamphlet missiles which the participants in that battle freely hurled at each other. And it is to this Thomas Welde refers when, in the closing words of his preface, he says, — "I bow my knees to the God of truth and peace to grant these Churches as full a riddance from the same or like opinions, which doe destroy his truth, and disturbe their peace."¹

In his detailed account of those times, — by far the most thorough and virile account of them in existence, — Dr. Masson

¹ *Infra*, p. 94.

Maffon says, — "Nowhere on earth prior to 1640, unless it were in Holland, was Toleration in any effective form whatsoever anything more than the dream of a few poor persecuted sectaries or deep private thinkers;" and then he adds, — "Immediately after the meeting of the Long Parliament, Toleration rushed into the air. Everywhere the word 'toleration' was heard, and with all varieties of meaning."¹ It might well admit of question whether adequate emphasis was given to the exceptional case of Holland in the first of these statements; for not only is it a well-established historical fact that Toleration did in 1640 exist in an "effective form" in Holland, but it had also then so existed there through the lives of two generations. The fact of its existence there in "effective form" was moreover not confined to the knowledge of "deep private thinkers," but it was so generally known among "poor persecuted sectaries," that as early as 1607, — thirty-three years before the Long Parliament met, — those composing the little church at Scrooby in the fens of Lincolnshire knew "that in the Low Countries was freedom of religion for all men," and exiles "from London and other parts of the land" had already gone thither. Dr. Maffon's statement, therefore, would stand in more correct form did it read "except in Holland," instead of "unless it were in Holland." But it has always been the practice of English scholars and students to shut their eyes to the pioneer experience of the Dutch on this great issue; and the American historian has somewhat blindly followed them in so doing.² While, therefore, it is undoubtedly true that in
England

¹ *Life of Milton*, Vol. III. pp. 108, 109.

² Campbell, *The Puritan in Holland, England, and America*, Vol. I. pp. xxxi, xxxix, 13, 79, 81, 197, 248-252.

England the idea of toleration "rushed into the air" shortly after 1640,¹ it is equally true that in the matter of toleration Holland had then stood a familiar and almost obtrusive object-lesson to the English people for more than half a century.

The Westminster Assembly was made up almost exclusively of Presbyterians; indeed, to such a degree was this the case that the few of "the Episcopal persuasion" who at first took part in it were "conspicuous by their canonical dresses among the bulk of the members in all sorts of plain Puritan suits," and those few speedily dropped away. "The real tug of verbal war" did not begin until the end of January, 1644. The struggle was between the Presbyterian majority and a little knot of so-called Independents; and the question at issue is thus stated by Masson:—

"The battle was essentially between two principles of church-organization. Was every individual assembly, or association of Christians (it might be of hundreds of persons, or it might be of as few as seven persons, voluntarily drawn together), to be an independent ecclesiastical organism, entitled to elect its own pastor and other officers, and to exercise the powers of admonition and excommunication within itself, any action of surrounding congregations upon it being an action of mere observation and criticism, and not of power or jurisdiction; and no authority to belong to meetings of the office-bearers of congregations of the same city or neighbourhood, or to general synods of office-bearers, however useful for various purposes such occasional meetings and synods might be? This was what the Independents maintained; and to this the Presbyterians vehemently said Nay. It was not desirable, they said in the first place, that congregations

¹ "There have been more Books for all other things, every day now
writ, Sermons preached, words spoken, brings forth Books for a Toleration."
besides plottings and actings for a Tol- — EDWARDS'S *Gangrana* (1646), p.
eration, within these four last years, than 59.

congregations themselves should be mere gatherings of Christians drawn together by chance affinities. That would be to put an end to the parochial system, with all the advantages of orderliness and effective administration that belonged to it. Let every congregation consist, as heretofore, mainly of the inhabitants of one parish or definitely marked ecclesiastical territory. Then let there be a strict inter-connectedness of all these parochial congregations over the whole land by means of an ascending series of church-judicatories. Let the congregations of the same town or district be connected by a Presbyterial Court, consisting of the assembled ministers and the ruling lay-elders of all the congregations, periodically reviewing the proceedings of the said congregations individually, or hearing appeals from them; and let these Presbyteries or Presbyterial Courts be in like manner under the authority and review of Synods, embracing many Presbyteries within their bounds, and finally of National Assemblies of the whole Church."¹

Congregationalism was then known distinctively as the "New England way." John Cotton was its father and leading exponent, and so referred to in the discussion, — "if not the author, yet the greatest promoter and patron of Independency, a man of very excellent parts, of great wit and learning," wrote Baillie, the Covenanter.² When at last in the course of debate in the Assembly the five exponents of Independency saw defeat plainly impending, they took the precaution, before a final decision was reached, to make what amounted to a practical appeal from the Assembly to Parliament, and their appeal took the shape of a tract, famous at the time, and still prominent in history, under the name of the *Apologetical Narration*, which appeared and was in circulation by early January, 1644. In taking this step the

Independents

¹ *Life of Milton*, Vol. III p. 21.

² *Infra*, p. 337, n. See also Hofmer's *Young Sir Henry Vane*, pp. 166-172.

Independents appealed not only to Parliament but to public opinion, and consequently, in order to sustain the formal decision of the Assembly, it became necessary for the champions of the Presbytery to meet the issue and argue the question through the press. So, throughout the year which followed, pamphlet crowded on pamphlet. Among these pamphlets appeared, probably in June or July, the famous *Bloudy Tenent* of Roger Williams, in which "the principle of absolute liberty of conscience was proclaimed, for the benefit of all opinions whatsoever, in tones that could never more be silenced."

Roger Williams had then been in England about a year, sent there by the Rhode Island people to secure a charter for erecting their scattered Plantations into a distinct Colony. During the year he had been going about England more or less, but had passed most of his time in London, in the society of the younger Vane; in frequent contact also with other leading men in Parliament and in the Westminster Assembly. "The New England way" was thus more than ever brought into discussion, and assumed a far-reaching aspect, — that of full religious freedom. The younger Vane also, who only eight years before had been governor of Massachusetts, was its most active exponent in the House of Commons; for wrote Williams, referring to him, "Mine eyes were glad and late witnesses of an heavenly speech of one of the most eminent of that High Assembly of Parliament: 'Why should the labors of any be suppressed, if sober, though never so different? We now profess to seek God, we desire to see light!'"¹

Thus

¹ Hofmer's *Young Sir Henry Vane*, p. 172.

Thus matters stood in the summer of 1644. "The New England way" had been set up by the Independents in opposition to the Presbytery; Religious Toleration in its widest form had been freshly enunciated by Roger Williams; Sir Harry Vane, the ex-governor of Massachusetts, was in Parliament the most active exponent of the new heresy; which the Presbyterian party, stimulated by "the exquisite rancor of theological hatred," was fighting with the energy of desperation.¹ Already the Independents had been upbraided "with the fact that their Toleration principle had broken down even in their own Paradise of New England," and for additional evidence on this head eager search was made. At this juncture Winthrop's narrative, after resting six years in oblivion, went to the printer. (It supplied the Presbyterian leaders with exactly the ammunition they wanted. In it was set forth not only the breaking down of the Toleration principle in the very land of its birth, but that breaking down had taken place under the magistracy of him who was now in England the Parliamentary mouthpiece of the Independents.) Both Williams and Vane were to be confounded by an answer out of their own mouths.

Early in August, 1644, the Westminster Assembly resumed its sittings after a fortnight's vacation, and proceeded without any delay to fall passionately on the archheresy of Toleration; in the words of Baillie, — "The first day of our sitting, after our vacance, a number of complaints were given in against

¹ "After the meeting of the Westminster Assembly, and the publication of the *Apologetical Narration* of the Independents, the one aim of the Presbyterians was to tie Toleration round the

neck of Independency, stuff the two struggling monsters into one sack, and sink them to the bottom of the sea." — MASSON'S *Life of Milton*, Vol. III. pp. 129, 130.

against the Anabaptists' and Antinomians' huge increase and infolencies intolerable." And the records of both Houses of Parliament bear witness to the urgent appeals then made by official delegates from the Assembly for the prompt passage of measures deemed needful "to prevent the spreading opinions of Anabaptism and Antinomianism." "These men," it was urged, "have cast off all affection and are so imbibitterated," that the Assembly could not but urge on Parliament that "it is high time to suppress them."¹ There is no occasion to emphasize the probable connection between this action and the publication of the first edition of Winthrop's documents. It is not known by whom the manuscript was hunted up and sent to the press; but the original titlepage of the pamphlet affords positive evidence as to the year, at least, in which it was printed, and also that, as a publication, it was aimed at "Antinomians and Familists."²

The Rev. Thomas Welde was at that time settled over a church at Gateshead, opposite Newcastle. The date of Welde's birth is not known; but he came of pure Saxon stock long settled in Suffolk. One of a family of nine children, he was graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1613, and was vicar of Terling from 1624 to 1631, when Laud, then Bishop of London, deposed him for nonconformity.³ Emigrating to America, he landed in Boston in June,

1632,

¹ Masson's *Milton*, Vol. III. pp. 89, 150, 161.

² As will presently appear, there were two differing titlepages to the pamphlet, for both of which, reproduced in fac-simile and placed side by side, *vide infra*, pp. 52, 53.

³ Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, pp. 511, 521, 522. As Savage characteristically expresses it (*Genealogical Dictionary of New England*, Vol. IV. p. 459), he "enjoyed the benefit of being excommunicated . . . by the drivelling malevolence of Archbishop Laud, then only bishop of London."

1632, and, the next month, was installed as the first pastor of the Roxbury church. In the following November "the Apostle" Eliot was associated with him as teacher. His unpleasant pastoral experiences during the Antinomian excitement can be inferred from the Preface to the *Short Story*; for the lapse of seven years and a complete change of clime had in no way obliterated from his memory the "half-a-dozen [theological] pistols" then occasionally discharged on him "in the open assembly," or "the dung cast on [the] faces [of] the faithful ministers of Christ." During the trial of Mrs. Hutchinson before the General Court, he and his associate, Eliot, were the two clerical witnesses called on to give testimony under oath to secure a judgment against her; and, after she was sentenced to banishment, she was consigned as a prisoner to the charge of Welde's brother Joseph, a prominent resident of Roxbury, where, at his house, throughout the winter and spring, she was subjected to much importunity on the part of the minister of the Roxbury church.¹ In 1641 Thomas Welde and Hugh Peter were sent back to England, commissioned to represent the colony in the mother country, and obtain, if possible, financial aid. They sought a passage by way of Newfoundland, and, being detained there waiting for a vessel homeward bound, they "preached to the seamen of the Island, who were much affected with the word taught, and entertained them with all courtesy."² Reaching their destination at last, they in England had exceptional success in their mission, though their efforts

¹ Savage says she was "subjected to the perpetual buzzing of the clerical tormentor" (*Winthrop*, ed. 1853, Vol. I. p. 295, n.).

² *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (1851), Vol. V. p. 235.

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efforts do not seem to have been appreciated by the G. Court, which, in October, 1645, adopted a vote that Peter and Mr. Welde, "having been long absent, misunderstand the Court's mind, that they desire their presence here, and speedy return." Neither of them returned response to this ungracious invitation, but both distinguished themselves during the civil troubles in England, and for many years forwarded money contributed to the funds of Harvard College. Much in London, he led generally active, influential life, printing various tracts of no value now. He disappears at the Restoration, and is supposed to have died in London, March 23, 1661.²

A man of intense and narrow mind, Thomas Weld like all men, and especially all theologians, of his type, rally intolerant. He was a nonconformist, orthodox (active, useful, energetic, wholly unimaginative, and intent to posterity only in an objective way. In the midst of religious scething going on in England in 1644, doubtless stood ready to use publicly the contemporary language of the "Simple Cobler of Aggawam," — "

¹ "I could tell *Cratenfis* of Mr. Peters' jugglings and indirect walking for four years by gone between Old England and New England, having every Spring taken his leave in the Pulpit of old England, and yet he is not gone. . . . I could relate also Master Wells his halting between Giles Criplegate and New England, between Mr. Walker and the money for the poor children's sending over to New England." — EDWARDS'S *Second Part of Gangrana*, p. 69. *Vide also Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, June, 1862, pp.

63-65. But see the paper entitled *Thomas Welde's "Innocency"* in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (1882), Vol. I, pp. 62-70.

² Some further facts in regard to Rev. Thomas Welde, and the circumstances of his mission to England, have been communicated by G. D. Scull, of New England, and are printed in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (1882), Vol. XXXVI, pp. 373, 403-407; and Vol. XXXI, pp. 179, 182. See also *Ibid.* p.

take upon me to be the herald of New England so far as to proclaim to the world in the name of the Colony, that all Familists, Antinomians, Anabaptists, and other enthusiasts shall have free liberty to keep away from us; and such as will come to be gone as fast as they can, the sooner the better." In Massachusetts, Welde had been one of the most active and earnest supporters of Winthrop and Wilson in their contest with Sir Harry Vane; and now, in England, all his sympathies were enlisted on the side of Rutherford and Baillie, the intolerant leaders of the Presbyterians in their even more bitter struggle with that same Sir Harry Vane, of whom, as governor of the Massachusetts Colony during one momentous year, — every incident of which rankled in the memory of the former pastor of the Roxbury church, — it was impossible that Thomas Welde should have friendly recollections; and Vane was now the recognized parliamentary head and mouthpiece of the hated and dreaded Independents. It is, therefore, small matter for surprise that it was afterwards confidently believed by well-informed persons in America that Baillie, Rutherford and the Scotch Presbyterians "had a secret hand to provoke Mr. Welde to set forth his *Short Story*."¹ In any event, it was under these circumstances that the manuscript of 1638 was rummaged up and sent to the printer; and apparently it went to him exactly in the shape in which it had come over from New England six years before. The references in its concluding pages can hardly be regarded as otherwise than decisive on this point. These indicate that the manuscript, as it came to England from Winthrop, was in no respect

¹ Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary of New England*, Vol. IV. p. 463.

respect changed,—was subjected to no revision. Events which had occurred in 1638 were mentioned in the printed book of 1644 as still occurring,¹ and no allusion was made to anything which afterwards took place. An early copy of the newly printed pamphlet came, as he asserts, into Welde's hands, and he naturally, from his close personal knowledge of the course of subsequent events, spoke of them to the leaders of the Presbyterians. These would of course wish to make their controversial missile as effective as possible, and urged their friend and informant to supplement and complete the narrative. This he finally did, writing a brief introductory note addressed to the reader, and fifteen pages of additional prefatory matter. Meanwhile the type of the first publication had been kept standing; a partially new titlepage was then set up, and a fresh edition of the pamphlet struck off and issued under the name of *A Short Story*, by which it has since been generally known.

However much or little Winthrop's book had been used at the earlier period for the purpose he designed it, there can be no doubt it was made to do good service in the hands of those in whose behalf it was now published. It was freely quoted from by Baillie and Rutherford, by Edwards and Paget, and by numerous others of the writers of the Presbyterian manifestoes of the day; indeed, according to Savage, who had doubtless, for reasons presently to be stated at length, made a careful count, Rutherford has no less than three hundred references to the *Short Story* in the second part of his *Survey of Spiritual Antichrist*, printed in London in 1648.

Winthrop

¹ *Infra*, pp. 141, 144, 160, 186, 233.

Winthrop makes no mention of the *Short Story* subsequent to its publication, but early copies of it doubtless found their way to New England; for not only does Cotton make constant reference to it in his *Way Cleared*, but John Wheelwright, then pastor of the church of Wells, deep in the Maine wilderness, received a copy, and prepared in his own vindication an answer to it under the title of *Mercurius Americanus*. Neither as a literary nor as a controversial production does this pamphlet add to Wheelwright's reputation, and it throws almost no additional light on the events of the controversy which originally called it forth, and no light at all on the authorship of the *Short Story*.

Four editions of the *Short Story* seem to have been published:—

1. The original (1644) edition, without Welde's preface and with the titlepage reproduced on page 52.
2. A second (1644) edition, from the same type, but with a slightly altered titlepage, reproduced on page 53, and with Welde's preface and address "To the Reader."
3. A third (1644) edition, for which the type was wholly reset, though the last former titlepage appears to have been kept standing and was also used for this edition.
4. A new edition, printed in 1692, from other type and with a fresh titlepage.

A singular and somewhat interesting bibliographical controversy, not without its comical features, arose in regard to the *Short Story* about the year 1850, involving not only its authorship but the sequence of the several editions. In February, 1851, the late Dr. Charles Deane, noting the references

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references to the Antinomian controversy in Winthrop's journal, first called attention to the fact that Winthrop evidently was the writer of a considerable portion at least, if not the whole, of the *Short Story*. James Savage was then engaged on his second (1853) edition of Winthrop's *History of New England*, revising and greatly enlarging the notes to his previous (1825) edition. Mr. Savage was a man of marked character of the peculiar New England type. Though by nature an investigator, he was educated to the law, and followed its practice until the innate sense of calling drew him wholly into antiquarian and historical pursuits. His *Genealogical Dictionary of New England* will endure, a monument of untiring industry, well-nigh endless research and indomitable will. A man of high standards and the utmost singleness and integrity of purpose, he had a hot temper, a strong will and great courage. While a fast and true friend, he was also what Dr. Johnson called "a good hater;" his dislikes were as intense as his likes, nor was he chary in the expression of either. Though his judgment was not equal to his industry, Savage had no superior in his day, nor has he had any since, as an authority on matters connected with early New England history; and the profound personal respect inspired by the earnestness, the intense individuality, and sincere, lofty character of the man, combined with his kindly, companionable and vivacious disposition, greatly enhanced, both generally and among those brought in closer contact with him, the weight of those opinions to which he was wont freely to give utterance. Thus, taken altogether, Mr. Savage was locally one of the most attractive as well as noticeable Boston characters of his day; but perhaps the

the most striking thing about him was the individuality expressed in his every word and act. This is especially observable in his notes to Winthrop, and affords, indeed, a not unpleasant contrast with the text, — the latter calm, self-restrained and inclined to the prosaic; the former intense, outspoken, replete with pith, individuality, learning and prejudice. These notes are, and will always remain, delightful as well as instructive reading; and to the student of New England history it is almost as difficult to think of Winthrop apart from Savage as it is for one learned in the English common law to separate Littleton from Coke.

Among the names of the men of Boston, "chief stirrers," as Winthrop expresses it, "in these [Antinomian] contentions," and for that reason ordered by the General Court of November, 1637, to be disarmed, was Thomas Savage, who had recently married Faith, the daughter of William and Anne Hutchinson. And at the church trial of the mother of his young wife in March, 1638, this Thomas Savage did himself infinite credit by rising and courageously protesting against the admonition about to be bestowed; and, as a result of so doing, he had the honor of being himself admonished together with her he so manfully sought to protect. James Savage traced his lineal descent in the fifth generation from Thomas and Faith (Hutchinson) Savage. He was, therefore, one of the offspring of Anne Hutchinson, to whom indeed in a characteristic note to Winthrop he refers as "his great, great, great, great grandmother." Conscious of a bias due to this remote relationship by descent, Savage throughout his notes to Winthrop endeavored to hold himself under strict control while dealing with events of the Antinomian controversy

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controversy, and he succeeded in so doing to a, for him, considerable extent; but the *Short Story* he looked upon as a discreditable literary production, the scurrilous product of a mind at once narrow, vindictive, virulent and malignant.

Into the justice of this estimate it might be unnecessary to enter, for in these respects the *Short Story* speaks for itself. But the book, taken as a whole, has certainly got a bad name. Bell, in his *Wheelwright* (p. 52), characterizes it "as a very bitter and partisan production, even for that day;" and others have regarded it in much the same light. With a book, as with other things, a bad name, once given, is apt to stick; but none the less, in the case of the body of the *Short Story*, separated from the preface, this unfavorable reputation is distinctly undeserved. While, thus taken, the *Short Story* is an outspoken and earnest presentation in defence of one side of a political struggle, written at the time and with a view to prejudice the case in the minds of those for whom it was prepared, a careful reading reveals in it little that is vituperative, and nothing which can be properly called scurrilous. Indeed, tested by the standards of the time, if it is in any way unusual, it is in its moderation. As the pages of Milton's prose works conclusively prove, the seventeenth-century controversialist was apt to be quite outspoken towards his opponent; but there is nothing in the *Short Story* which in this respect exceeds the bounds then, or, for that matter, now, deemed permissible. Mrs. Hutchinson is, indeed, referred to as "the American Jezabel;"¹ but this is mild compared with the epithets freely

¹ "A General Court held at Boston against Mrs. Hutchinson the American Jezabel, August the 30. where the opinions and errors of Mrs. Hutchinson and

freely hurled about by the author of *Paradise Lost* in his *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*;¹ while in other respects the restraint shown throughout the *Short Story* in the absence of all references to Vane is most noticeable. Neither is there in it any personal denunciation of the other leaders among the Antinomian faction; while, as to the detailed reference to the misfortunes in childbirth of Mrs. Hutchinson and Mrs. Dyer, repellent to the last degree, and the worst thing in the whole book, Winthrop must, as the *History* proves,² be held accountable.³ Unhappily, also, that sort of writing cannot be said to be otherwise than characteristic of him. He was somewhat prone to congenital monstrosities.⁴ Finally, there is nothing in the *Short Story* which at all approaches in vituperative intensity Savage's own references to Thomas Welde, presently to be referred to.

Still, Mr. Savage had always been in the custom of attributing the authorship of this, to him, most objectionable pamphlet to Thomas Welde; and, "good hater" as he by nature was, he grew to class the Rev. Thomas Welde with Dr. Cotton Mather and Governor John Hancock of subsequent times, as an object of his special and hearty aversion.

and her Associates 80 errors were condemned." — JOSSELYN, *Chronological Observations of America* (1673), p. 257.

¹ "Fool, beetle, ass, blockhead, liar, slanderer, apostate, idiot, wretch, ignoramus, vagabond, French vagabond, Burgundian slave, — these or their equivalents are the epithets applied to Salmafius, page after page, and almost sentence after sentence. . . . There are decencies and limits, however, in civilized warfare; and with all

allowance for the customs of controversy in Milton's time, one cannot, always excuse him." — MASSON'S *Milton*, Vol. IV, pp. 263-264.

² Savage's *Winthrop*, Vol. I. pp. 313-317.

³ But see Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary of New England*, Vol. IV. pp. 459, 460.

⁴ For example, the very singular case of circumstantial evidence described in the *History*, Vol. II. p. 61.

aversion. So far did he carry this prejudice that it became a byword and a jest among his associates; for at last Mr. Savage never uttered the name of any one of these three Massachusetts notabilities without accompanying the mention with some intellectual effort the equivalent of a physical kick!¹

As Welde and Mather and Hancock were the objects of his contempt and aversion, so John Winthrop was regarded by Savage with a warmth of admiration almost devout. He looked upon the first Boston governor as the incomparable Father of Massachusetts. When, therefore, his friend Charles Deane

¹ There is a tradition that Rufus Choate once expressed a hope that he should some day have Mr. Savage called as a witness for the other side in a lawsuit, so that he (Choate) might have a chance to cross-question his learned brother as to why he so hated Cotton Mather. There is likewise an extraordinary and amusing anecdote still lingering about the rooms of the Massachusetts Historical Society descriptive of Savage's return home late one evening from some entertainment. Accompanied by a friend hardly less mature and quite as learned as himself, he suddenly stopped before the John Hancock mansion, then still standing on Beacon Street, and proceeded with minatory gestures expressive of hatred and contempt, to oburgate the former owner of the house with a strength and point of language most secular, but more refreshing than conventional.

The following extremely characteristic anecdote is from O. B. Frothingham's *Boston Unitarianism* (p. 178). The incident occurred at a meeting of

the Massachusetts Historical Society. "It was at one of the darkest episodes of the war. Defeat had followed defeat. The credit of the government was sinking. Conflict with England seemed imminent. An informal conversation on the situation went round the circle; Mr. R—— joined in and criticized the proceedings at Washington, uttering sentiments that jarred on the ears of loyalists. One of the members, an old man, influential and honored, who had lost a son in battle, bore it as long as he could, chafing and fretting in his chair; but at length, unable to sit any longer, got up, faced the offender, shook his clinched fist at him, and ejaculated, "Then" (in the event of Northern overthrow and bankruptcy) "we will all go to hell together!"

No member of the Society in those times could entertain the slightest doubt as to who that "old man" was; and it was sturdy ebullitions of this sort which constituted one of the charms of Mr. Savage's impetuous, outspoken character.

Deane, whose authority on such a point he could not but defer to, and whom otherwise he regarded with that deep respect not unmixed with personal affection which Dr. Deane inspired to such a marked degree in all who were so fortunate as to come in contact with him, — when Charles Deane, by the careful collation of passages proved incontrovertibly that John Winthrop and not Thomas Welde was the author of the *Short Story*, the result was the reverse of agreeable to James Savage. The fact nevertheless was one not to be denied. X

In his first edition of Winthrop, Mr. Savage, while dealing leniently with Winthrop himself in matters pertaining to the troubles of 1636-38, had referred to Welde, then assumed by him to be the author of the *Short Story*,¹ in divers contemptuous ways, but more especially as an "inquisitor,"² or as "one of the chief inquisitors,"³ in that affair. When, therefore, it suddenly appeared that Winthrop and not Welde was "the virulent pamphleteer" responsible for the *Short Story*, Savage, though perplexed in the extreme, girded himself for the occasion. The result was the following curiously complacent allusion at the close of the Preface to his new edition (1853):—

"Exposure of the infirmity of unhappy Thomas Welde, in his Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of Antinomianism, will compensate, I think, the curious hunter in bibliography."

The reference was to an extraordinary but most characteristic note on pages 298, 299 of his first volume. Winthrop, in

¹ "Thomas Welde . . . himself furnished a Narrative of it," referring to the Antinomian controversy. — SAV-

AGE'S *Winthrop* (ed. 1825), Vol. I. pp. 77 n., 258 n., 263 n.

² *Ibid.* p. 215 n.

³ *Ibid.* p. 238 n.

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in language already quoted,¹ mentioned the fact that the proceedings of the General Court had been "set down at large" and sent to England to be published there. Referring to the original manuscript of Winthrop's *History*, which lay before him, Mr. Savage then comments as follows: —

"In the margin was written, in a hand I thought to be Cotton Mather's, 'This was printed by Mr. Wells about seven years after.' The misspelling of the author's name is strange. From diligent examination of Welde's book, I think he must be held answerable for 72 of its 85 pages; and that Gov. Winthrop wrote what is printed from the top of p. 46 to the third line of p. 59. This is entitled 'A Brief Apology in Defence of the General Proceedings of the Court,' (probably Winthrop had written, Proceedings of the General Court.) 'holden at Boston, the ninth day of the first month, 1636, against Mr. J. Wheelwright, a member there, by occasion of a Sermon,' etc., etc. Welde, who went home in 1641, did not until 1644 publish his 'Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of the Antinomians, etc., that infected the churches of New England; and how they were confuted by the assembly of ministers there; as also of the magistrates' proceedings in Court against them; together with God's strange and remarkable judgments from heaven upon some of the chief fomenters of these Opinions, and the lamentable death of Mrs. Hutchinson; very fit for these times, here being the same Errors amongst us, and acted by the same spirit. Published at the instant request of sundry, by one that was an eye and ear witness of the carriage of matters there.' Quotations follow from Ephes. 4: 14, and 2 Peter, 3: 17. 'London: printed for Ralph Smith, at the sign of the Bible, in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange, 1644.' The book opens with a short address, followed by sixteen very curious pages of preface, and a postscript, to which is signed the name of T. Welde.

"The intent of the address to the reader, is to convince him, that T. W. met with the book, 'newly come forth of the press,' and was earnestly

¹ *Supra*, p. 17.

earnestly desired 'to perfect it by laying down the order and sense of this story, (which in the book is omitted;)' and that the names of the parties in our troubles thus being 'already in print without any act of his,' he thought it 'requisite that God's great works should be made known,' whereupon he drew up the following preface, 'with some additions to the conclusion of the book.'

"No small reason to presume, that this is altogether a pretence on the part of the virulent pamphleteer, would be drawn from inspection of the copy of the work in the British Museum. It is in the wonderful collection, by Thomason, of the pamphlets published from 1640 to 1660, of near thirty thousand pieces, in almost two thousand volumes, and is found in Vol. 143 of the small quartos, there marked 19 Feb. 1643, as the gatherer was careful, he says, 'that the very day is written upon most of them that they came out.'

"Very trifling importance would attach, however, to the question of Welde's concern in the publication; and we might slightly regard his indication of himself on the title-page, that does not bear his name, as 'an eye and ear witness of the carriage of matters,' had not the over-cunning writer caused another title-page to be affixed to the *same* work, omitting solely the address and preface. It has every word, and part of a word, and abbreviation of names, and exactly the same references and figures, on every page, as the former book, from p. 1 to 66, and *Finis* inclusive. Yet, to mystify a heedless observer, it is entitled, 'Antinomians and Familists condemned by the Synod of Elders in New England; with the proceedings of the Magistrates against them, and their Apology for the same; together with a memorable example of God's judgments upon some of those persons, etc.;' and most exact copy of the last words and figures of the imprint, 'London: published for Ralph Smith at the sign of the Bible, etc., 1644.' It seems, as if the types had never been disturbed; and to a skilful eye this test is decisive. My attention to this extraordinary instance of bibliographical disingenuity was drawn in March, 1851, by Dr. Harris, the learned librarian of our University, where it is preserved; but probably it imposed upon nobody until within two or
three

three years. Certainly, in some ancient chirography, of which this substituted title-page is probably the sole possessor, as I presume no other copy can be found in the world, (for Thomason had not heard of it, we may be sure,) it is branded, 'By Mr. Wells.' What a sneaking device it was, need not be argued. Nor can any one, it seems to me, hesitate to ask the unanswerable question, What did Welde mean by acknowledging in *his* preface '*some additions to the conclusion of the book*' when not a word, or letter, or comma, or figure, is added to the last six pages or any part of what, for a shield of his own cowardice, he wished to have pass as a new edition of a work heretofore issued from the press?

"No doubt was ever expressed about the *true* title-page, 'A Short Story, etc.,' by Baylie, in *Diffuasive*, 1645; by Wheelwright, in *Mercurius Americanus*, 1645, both at London; or by Cotton, 1648; by our own General Court, 1654, as in note to p. 216, ante; by the author of 'A Glass for the People of New England,' 1676, as quoted by Hutchinson, I. 72, charging Rev. Samuel Clark of London with 'taking the lie out of his brother Welde's Short Story' into his book, 'God's Judgments against heresy;' or by Mather, or by the London publisher of the *second* edition, 1692; or by the careful antiquary, Prince, in *Catal. of N. E. Library*; or by Chauncey, or Eliot, or any other of our New England divines; and perhaps the reader may think I have derived too much gratification from disclosing the shameless infirmity or petty malice of the ecclesiastical historian. Let it go for the least skilful of all attempts at deception: an anonymous title-page to a pamphlet, of which 'additions to the conclusion,' probably of seven pages, were before confessed."

The epithets freely showered on the Rev. Thomas Welde, — a "virulent pamphleteer," and "over-cunning writer" resorting to the "sneaking device" of an "extraordinary instance of bibliographical disingenuity" "for a shield of his own cowardice," thus affording him (Savage) the "gratification"

tion" of "disclosing the shameless infirmity or petty malice of the ecclesiastical historian,"—all this collection of epithets¹ freely showered on the head of the Rev. Thomas Welde could hardly fail to excite attention even among those not unaware of Mr. Savage's editorial foibles. Especially was this the case since Mr. Savage, while contemptuously unmasking this "least skilful of all attempts at deception," did not see fit to disclose a motive, or to construct even a theory upon which to base a motive for such a display of "cowardice." Even supposing the Rev. Thomas Welde to be thus peculiarly susceptible to fear,—an assumption not wholly rational in the case of one who had braved the anger of Archbishop Laud,—it would have seemed that, before applying such strictures, the writer applying them would have been at some pains to invent an hypothesis at least as to what the author of the *Short Story* apprehended, and why he acted as he did. As the case was left by the literary detective, the criminal so completely and successfully exposed was actuated apparently by no motive other than an innate depravity of disposition, which revealed itself in an inclination to cheat, lie and steal for the mere satisfaction to be derived from so doing.² Later it became somewhat a matter

¹ In the edition of 1853 Welde is at one time referred to as an "inquisitor" (p. 257, n.); and then as a "clerical tormentor" (p. 295, n.); a few pages further on (p. 301, n.) he becomes "the mild and candid Thomas Welde;" and then (p. 310, n.) allusion is made to "the simplicity of his bigotry;" next he is represented as, in his own belief, "proxy or attorney of the Most High" (p. 315, n.); finally, a remark of Winthrop's that

Jane Hawkins was under "suspicion to be a witch," is elegantly expanded, in the *Short Story* of Welde," who, some years later, "might then have enjoyed . . . the delight imputed to some of his brethren of the clergy . . . in the delusion of 1692" (p. 316, n.).

² In a letter addressed to Dr. Thaddeus William Harris, then librarian of Harvard College, dated March 4, 1853 (the preface to the second edition of Winthrop's

matter of surprize that the editor failed to point out the degree in which certain of these qualities of Thomas Welde were manifested in his immediate offspring.¹ Thus the very vagueness

Winthrop's *History* is dated June, 1853), which letter Dr. Harris filed in a copy of the earliest, or "Antinomians and Familists" edition of the *Short Story* then, and now, belonging to the College, Mr. Savage thus characteristically expressed himself: "I owe you many thanks for the volume of Welde's Rise, Reign and Ruin, with a spurious title-page, and the most curious matter of the Preface suppressed. Finding that E. A. [Ezra Abbot] had put a written bibliographical decision of the matter, of which my conviction is *complete* that it is erroneous, I have added two lines to his twenty two, to challenge attention to the subject. . . . No rascal in making counterfeit bills, having true impressions from the plates, ever succeeded better than Welde in giving this abnormal punctuation mark. . . . Welde might well be afraid of young Harry Vane, who had been his Governour here so few years before; [or] any other fear might have induced him to [*word torn out*] this sacred shield of cowardice, that any weapon and even eyeshot could penetrate.

"But the resource of the ostrich wholly exposes his tail.

"I have a counterfeit pistareen, worth far more than any genuine one, being stamped here in Boston, 'PHILIP V. by the grace of God, &c., 1810.' But I do not know, that any descendant of Rev. Thomas Welde had a hand, or a foot, in making the lie on the die."

Dr. Abbot had, in his "bibliograph-

ical decision" referred to in the above, stated the order of editions in accordance with Welde's assertion in his note "To the Reader." To this "decision" Savage appended these two lines: "But the *later edition* was published *first*, asserts Jas. Savage, and thus is shown the *disingenuoufness* of Welde."

It would thus seem that Mr. Savage persisted in his theory, though otherwise advised in advance by competent authority, more judicious than himself.

¹ Savage's *Winthrop*, Vol. II. p. 167, n. "Two of our ministers' sons, being students in the college, robbed two dwelling houses in the night of some 15 pounds. Being found out, they were ordered by the governours of the college to be there whipped, which was performed by the president himself—yet they were about 20 years of age; and after they were brought into the court and ordered to two fold satisfaction, or to serve so long for it." To this statement of Winthrop, Mr. Savage appends a note, in part as follows,—"One [of these offenders] was James Ward. . . . The other was a son of Rev. Thomas Welde of Roxbury; and one of the houses so robbed by the youthful burglar was that of his uncle Joseph, then gone to London. He gave up hope of the college honors, though his father, so often named in our former volume, was one of the overseers. Certainly the sons of ministers have not become worse since the first generation."

vagueness combined with the vehemence of the attack seemed at first to silence criticism; for, unless the attention of a descendant or historical student interested in the subject was called to the charge, a general impression of something very bad unquestionably disclosed was created by the language of the note, sustained by the reputation of him who wrote it.

Accordingly, though Savage brought out his second edition of Winthrop in 1853, it was not until November, 1857, four years later, that his "exposure of the infirmity of unhappy Thomas Welde" seems to have attracted the notice of any questioning eye.¹ Then at last a communication on the subject of the "authorship of the Short Story" appeared in the *Historical Magazine*. It was written by J. Wingate Thornton under the signature of "Hutchinson," and in clear language pointed out the obvious facts in the case, and the wholly gratuitous nature of Savage's assumptions. Savage had, without the slightest evidence or authority for so doing, inverted the order of the editions, making the last what was obviously the first; and having thus created a mystery where none existed, had proceeded to belabor the unfortunate Thomas Welde for a fraud and crime of the belaborer's own device.

It was not in Mr. Savage's nature to accept this correction, and revise his judgment. On the contrary, in the light of Mr. Thornton's criticisms, he became only the more set in his own belief and determined to prove its correctness. So
in

¹ It was alluded to by Samuel G. Drake in a review of Savage's 1853 edition of Winthrop, printed in the eighth volume (1854) of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (pp. 84, 85); but the critic in this case did not undertake to "set the matter right."

in the following number of the *Historical Magazine* (January, 1858) he published an answer to Mr. Thornton's paper. This answer reads to-day like a curious exemplification of how completely a man of a mind at once acute and educated may be befogged and led astray by passion and prejudice so as to see in everything, no matter how unexpected or contradictory, only new evidence of an utterly erroneous preconceived theory. After writing his note to the 1853 edition of Winthrop, Mr. Savage had learned of the existence of two other copies of the *Short Story* in the famous Choules collection. These copies bore the two different titlepages upon which, in the note which has been quoted from his 1853 edition, Mr. Savage laid so much stress, — the one beginning with the words "Antinomians and Familists,"¹ and the other with the words "A Short Story." Both of these titlepages are here reproduced in fac-simile (pp. 52, 53).

In his original note, already quoted in full, "disclosing the shameless infirmity or petty malice of the ecclesiastical historian," Mr. Savage, it will be remembered, referred to the "Antinomians and Familists" titlepage copy in the library of Harvard College, saying, "I presume no other copy can be found in the world." When, therefore, he suddenly came across another copy in the Choules collection, this also, it might be supposed, would have given him pause, and led him to reconsider the conclusion to which he had so hastily committed himself. Copies of the book, with "a spurious titlepage, and the most curious matter of the Preface suppressed,"

were

¹ This copy, at the sale of the Choules collection, in May, 1856, was bought by the late John Carter Brown, and now, kindly lent by his son, John

Nicholas Brown, for that purpose, has been used in the editing of the present volume.

were, it was evident, by no means so rare as he had at first supposed. After all, might not Thomas Welde have told the truth when he said that he had met the "Book, newly come forth of the Presse," and a copy with the "Antinomians and Familists" titlepage been the book thus met with?

If any such question or doubt ever suggested itself to Mr. Savage's mind, it certainly never effected a lodgment there. He had conceived a theory; he was bound to establish its truth. But, in so doing, his troubles were not yet over; new difficulties presented themselves. The charge of fraud and a spurious titlepage, so confidently advanced, had been based on the absolute identity of the body of the book, whether under the "Antinomian and Familists" titlepage, or the "Short Story" titlepage. In his introductory "To the Reader," Welde had spoken of "some additions" made by him "to the conclusion of the Book;" and Savage, taking the expression in the verbal, literal sense, had proceeded to show that the closing pages of the two editions were exactly the same, — *verbatim, punctuatum, et literatim*, — while, in one case, the first signature (A) consisted of a titlepage and seventeen subsequent pages of prefatory matter, but in the other case that signature was confined to the titlepage alone. This, to his mind, showed conclusively that, after publication, all of the first signature except the titlepage had been suppressed, while "the additions to the conclusion," confessed to by "T. W.," necessarily made up a considerable portion of the closing part of the body of the work. For this unascertainable quantity of the obnoxious publication, as well as for the whole of the suppressed preface, Thomas Welde was responsible, and John Winthrop was not.



ANTINOMIANS

AND

FAMILISTS

CONDEMNED

By the SYNOD of ELDERS

IN

NEVV ENGLAND:

WITH THE

Proceedings of the Magistrates against them,

And their Apology for the same.

Together with

A Memorable example of Gods Iudgements

upon some of those Persons so
proceeded against.



LONDON,

*Printed for Ralph Smith at the signe of the Biblein Cornhill
neare the Royall Exchange. 1644.*



A
HORT STORY
 OF THE
 se, reign, and ruine of the *Antinomians,*
Familists & Libertines, that infected the Churches
 OF
IEVV ENGLAND:

d how they were confuted by the Assembly of Mi-
 nisters there: As also of the Magistrates proceedings
 in Court against them.

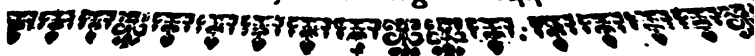
gether with Gods strange and remarkable judge-
 ments from Heaven upon some of the chief fomenters of
 these Opinions, And the lamentable death of *Mr. Hutchison:*

*y fit for these times; here being the same errors amongst
 us, and acted by the same spirit.*

lished at the instant request of sundry, by one that was an eye
 and care-witnesse of the carriage of matters there.

Ephel. 4. 14.
*o more children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine,
 y the sleight of men, and cunning or craftinesse, whereby they lie in wait to deceive.
 are, lest yee being led away with the error of the wicked, yee fall from your own
 stedfastnesse. 2 Pet. 3. 17.*

LONDON,
 rinted for *Ralph Smith* at the signe of the Bible in Cornhill
 neare the Royall Exchange. 1644.



So far as the first of these two points, — the suppression of the preface, — was concerned, the very obvious explanation, that originally the titlepage alone constituted the first signature, and that, as Welde quite truly said, the preliminary matter prepared by him was subsequently inserted between the titlepage and the second signature, — this obvious explanation Mr. Savage wholly declined to listen to.

The fact that the titlepage alone constituted the first (A) signature, and that the next (B) signature began with the second page, though by no means unusual, might still at first glance excite suspicion of suppressed matter. But, in the present case, it does not seem to have occurred either to Mr. Savage, or the practical printers he consulted, that the signatures of the *Short Story*, it being a small quarto, consisted of eight pages each. Welde's preliminary matter, supposed on Savage's theory of suppression to have been part of the original first edition, required eighteen pages, — seventeen of them printed and one blank. If, therefore, Savage was correct, the first two (A and B) signatures of the earliest, *bona fide*, edition would have included the titlepage and fourteen pages of introductory matter; the next (C) signature would have included the remainder of the introductory matter (four pages, one of them blank) and the first four pages of the body of the book; while the fourth (D) signature would have begun on what is, in the original, page 5 of the *Short Story*. Upon Savage's theory, therefore, a quarto originally began with a single signature (A) of twenty pages; and the necessary inference would have been that the Rev. Thomas Welde designed the fraud and suppression, including the "spurious titlepage," from the start, and arranged

ranged for a signature (A) of an irregular number of pages, so that afterwards, the preliminary matter having been at the proper time withdrawn, the apparently regular succession of signatures should begin at what was originally the twenty-first, but would then become the first, page of the body of the book. On the other hand, if Mr. Savage had not been obstinately prepossessed by a conviction of Welde's wickedness, the mere facts that the introductory matter was not paged, and that an irregular and wholly unusual number of pages was found between the titlepage and the beginning of the second (B) signature, — these obvious facts would alone have convinced him of the truth of Welde's simple and natural statement, that "meeting with this Book, newly come forth of the Presse," he had, at the instance of others, "drawne up this following Preface, and prefixed hereunto."

So far as the second point made by Mr. Savage, — the argument from absolute typographic identity that the "additions to the conclusion of the Book" had been made by Welde before the first edition was struck off, — so far as this point based on typographic identity was concerned, it now so chanced that one of the two copies of the *Short Story* in the Choules collection was a copy of the second edition under that title of 1644, — the edition for which the type, except that of the titlepage, had been reset. When, therefore, Mr. Savage sent on to New York and caused a complete collation of the two copies to be made, instead of the absolute identity of type in "every word, and part of a word, and abbreviation of names, and exactly the same references and figures, on every page, as the former book, from p. 1 to 66, and Finis inclusive," on which he had so confidently based his argument,

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ment, — in place of this absolute identity, the new collation revealed “thirty, forty, or more than fifty, if not one hundred” variations; and, having before argued from absolute identity, Mr. Savage now triumphantly appealed to this great lack of identity as conclusive proof of his hypothesis! His amended theory was that the newly discovered and varying edition was yet an earlier imprint, also containing Welde’s preliminary matter, the typographical errors of which earlier impression had been corrected for the later imprint and the yet subsequent imprint from which the introductory matter had been suddenly dropped and suppressed.¹ The knowledge of his calling possessed by “any printer’s apprentice,” he contended, would suffice to establish this as an “irrefutable inference.”

The real fact was, as clearly appears on close examination, that two wholly distinct editions of the pamphlet, both of them with Welde’s prefatory matter, were printed in 1644, from the same font of type. The titlepage was identical, and had evidently been kept standing; but, for the rest, the variations average some twenty to a page, the paging itself is not the same, while different ornamental scroll-work is found at the beginning of the chapters. Yet to the end Mr. Savage maintained that these were mere press corrections; so that even the impossible was made to afford additional evidence of the correctness of an otherwise untenable theory.

To this singular display of perverted mental acumen, not to say wrong-headedness, Mr. Thornton, still writing under the

¹ See the paper by W. B. Traft, in *Logical Register* (1882), Vol. XXXV, p. 36.

the signature of "Hutchinson," replied in the *Historical Magazine* of June, six months later (1858). The facts and reasoning he now presented can hardly be considered otherwise than conclusive; for he demolished completely the "printer's apprentice" argument based on the absence of all but one page in the first signature of the first edition, claimed by Savage to be the last. The controversy between Mr. Thornton and Mr. Savage here came to a close. Meanwhile Samuel G. Drake had taken the subject up, and, in his *History of Boston*,¹ controverted the position of Savage, calling him to severe account. Dr. Palfrey also, in his *History of New England*,² indicated his dissent; and, above all, Charles Deane corresponded with Mr. Savage, endeavoring to induce him to see the thing in a correct light. Felt, in his *Ecclesiastical History*,³ enforced the efforts of the others, — all, with one exception, friends and warm admirers of the editor of Winthrop.⁴ It was in vain. Savage, hating Welde, had conceived a theory; nothing sufficed to disabuse him of it. On the contrary, every new development, no matter what, only confirmed him in it, until at last, in 1862, he finally delivered himself on the subject at great length under the head of "Welde, Thomas," in his *Genealogical Dictionary*

¹ *The History and Antiquities of Boston* (1856), p. 148, n.

² *History of New England*, Vol. I. p. 495, n.

³ *Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. I. p. 329.

⁴ The same conclusion was reached by Rev. John A. Vinton, who, in his *Antinomian Controversy of 1637*, speaking of the author of the *Short Story*, says he "could be no other than Gov-

ernor Winthrop himself," basing the assertion on "a careful comparison of some passages in Winthrop's *Journal* with some passages in the *Short Story*" (pp. 39, 40). Drake, on the same evidence, asserts: "It may safely be affirmed, that, if Welde wrote the *Short Story*, he also wrote Winthrop's *Journal*." — *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (1854), Vol. VIII. p. 84.

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Dictionary of New England, making his final appeal "to the competent tribunal of gentlemen and scholars in this and all succeeding ages."

What he there says is too long to quote at length, filling, as it does, twelve closely printed pages packed with abbreviated words. A most diffuse and intricate statement, it is in parts hardly intelligible; but in it he made no retraction or confession of error. He still referred to Welde as "the crafty writer," the "reverend casuist," whose "sneaking devise," at last exposed, had been designed to "supply a shield for his temerity or a cover for his cowardice." But now, at last, he did undertake to supply an answer to the natural question,—What motive had Welde in his course of deceit and suppression? He finds that motive in Welde's statement in the note "To the Reader" that "the names of some parties . . . are already in print without any act of mine." His suggestion is that Welde "might fear prosecution for libels by one or another."

But for a person curious in such matters it would be necessary to read all that Savage here says to realize fully how a learned, conscientious and acute investigator may at times unadvisedly advance a theory, and in support of it wander into a wholly gratuitous assault upon some well-nigh forgotten historical personage whose only crime was that he made a simple and straightforward statement of facts not altogether palatable. The controversy does indeed, as Savage remarks, though not in the way he intended, afford compensation to "the curious hunter in bibliography."¹

While

¹ The following is from the *Genealogical Dictionary* (Vol. IV. p. 459): "Whatever hand reported these proceedings, it could not well have been Governor
Governor

While it is unnecessary to follow the discussion further, it is a very essential portion of the introduction to a new edition of the *Short Story*, for it involves the question of a joint authorship. Starting from Welde's statement in the note "To the Reader," that he had "drawn up this following Preface, and prefixed hereunto, with some additions to the conclusions of the Book," Savage, eager to reduce Winthrop's responsibility for the *Short Story* to the narrowest possible limits, concludes, as the result of "diligent examination," that Winthrop "wrote what is printed from the top of page 46 to the third line of page 59." For the rest, dropping the question of authorship, treating Welde's statement that he had met the book "newly come forth of the Presse" as a simple downright falsehood, and falling back on Welde's acknowledgment of responsibility for "some additions to the conclusion of the Book," Savage argued that Welde, as editor, was "responsible for all but the strictly official document

Governor Winthrop, at least in the full transcript, for on page 27 it is alleged that Wheelwright was required . . . 'to render himself at the house of Mr. Stanton, one of the magistrates.' . . . Now this could not have fallen from the Governor, whose narrative [in the *History*] in several items varies from this report, and does not name the magistrate, but uses the phrase 'one of the magistrates,' which were then only seven, beside himself and the Deputy. But *Colonial Records* (I. 207) has the name of Stoughton; and no Stanton was ever one of the magistrates."

Vide note, *infra*, p. 148. It seems almost incredible that it should never have occurred to a man of Mr. Savage's

experience in such matters that in this case the name written in the manuscript was Stouton, — being, by the pronunciation of that day, *idem sonans* as Stoughton, — and the compositors in England read and set it up Stanton. In another than Mr. Savage such an argument, based on so obvious an error of misreading, would be attributed rather to perversity than to obtuseness; especially as no one living was so familiar as he with the almost illegible character of what he himself refers to as Winthrop's "chirography." In the *Short Story*, also, many of the proper names are curiously abbreviated; Wheelright, for instance, being printed Wheel, and Wilton, Wil. (*infra*, pp. 132, 133).

document . . . because it was printed under his direction and most of it is evidently his own composition."¹ And he even goes so far as to assert that if "resort be had to critical comparison of style, slight difficulty will attend the separation of what is between the two covers of the binding. Against the errors of Wheelwright, and the fantastic revelations of Mrs. Hutchinson, Welde could not more sincerely show his zeal than Winthrop; but his zeal is denunciatory, fierce, and virulent, while that of the Governor seems cautious, calm, and moderate, in terms, decisive in spirit. Even in type of the same forms, it may be followed, like that fabled river in its nameless course under the sea, as told by Virgil, *Æn.* III. 686, bearing the true, unmixed proof of its fountain, —

" 'Nunc

Ore, Arethusa, tuo Seculis confunditur undis.' "

On the strength of this "critical comparison," he then arbitrarily assigns seventy-two of the eighty-five printed pages to Welde, and thirteen to Winthrop, quite regardless of the fact that other, and much more decisive, internal evidence shows that the portions assigned to Welde were written in Boston six years before Welde made his "additions to the conclusion of the Book."

Dr. Palfrey, while "differing with great reluctance from Winthrop's learned editor," ascribed to Winthrop's hand all of the body of the Book, — excluding the prefatory matter to which Welde's initials were attached, — adding merely an uncertainty "whether it is the last three or the last eight pages of the volume that constitute the 'additions' referred to in the 'Address to the Reader.'"

A

¹ *Genealogical Dictionary of New England*, Vol. IV. p. 464.

A careful and unprejudiced examination would seem to show no good reason for putting this clove, verbal construction on Welde's language. The words "some additions to the conclusion of the Book" by no means necessarily imply that a part of what was added was tacked on to the last printed pages of it. By the "conclusion of the Book" Welde presumably meant the end of the story narrated in it up to the time when it left the hands of the writer. Welde then completed it by bringing the course of events down to the time of publication; and this part of the narrative, all included in the preface, constituted his "additions to the conclusion [or ending] of the Book." On this point there seems no good reason to dissent from the statement of Mr. Thornton:—

"Mr. Welde's 'additions to the conclusion of the Book' relate to Mrs. Hutchinson. Winthrop's manuscript being prepared 'soon after the court brake up,' could contain nothing of a date subsequent to her banishment from the colony. Welde takes up the wondrous tale, from that date, narrates some incidents of her life in Rhode Island, her removal 'to live under the Dutch, neare a place called by Sca-men, and in the map, Hell-gate,' and the news of the destruction of herself and family by the Indians, as he had 'received it very lately from a godly hand in New-England.' In 'A Postscript' he 'thinks it fit to adde a comfortable passage of newes from those parts written to me very lately by a faithfull hand,' about 'two Sagamores, or Indian Princes' having 'voluntarily submitted themselves to the will and law of our God.' These were his 'additions.'"

But the whole question of authorship as between Winthrop and Welde may be said to have originated in this century with Savage, and to have been dispelled by Deane. In both
England

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England and in America at the time of its publication, those referring to the book attributed it, as a matter of course, to Winthrop. Baillie, for instance, in his *Dissuasive* (1645) makes three distinct references to the authorship of the *Short Story*, and in such a way as to show that he was correctly informed. The first reference is in the list of "Principall Authors" prefixed to his book. Among these is, "A short story of the rise &c published with Mr. Weld's large preface, 1644." Later on (p. 57) he speaks of "the witness of Master Winthrop, the wisest of all the New English Governours hitherto, and of Master Wells, a gracious minister of that Land, in their printed relations of the Schisms there." And finally (p. 64), referring to a passage in the body of the work, he says,—"Out of the Governour Winthrop's Narration, I remark one abomination." In like manner Rutherford in his *Survey of Spiritual Antichrist* (1648) refers to the *Short Story* as being "penned (as I am informed) by M. Winthrope, Governour, a faithfull witness, and approved by M. T. Weld in his preface to the book" (p. 171). Finally, John Cotton, in his *Way of Congregational Churches Cleared*¹ (1648), refers to a passage in the body of the *Short Story* as being "testimony . . . which (it is likely) was delivered by Mr. Winthrop, being then Governor." All these references indicate that by those at the time at all informed on the subject the *Short Story* itself, apart from the preface, was understood to be Winthrop's work. Other writers of the same period, uninformed as to the matter, but seeing Welde's name signed in full to the Preface, simply refer to the book as "Mr. Wells, his narration,"² or, in another

¹ *Infra*, pp. 364, 366.

² Edwards's *Gangrena*, p. 3.

another case, to the facts "set downe by Mr. Wells in a book printed for Ralph Smith."¹

Finally, it is a conclusive answer to Palfrey's suggestions that Welde may have referred to the last three or eight pages as his "additions to the conclusion of the Book," that the language used in those pages, as already more than once pointed out, shows that they must have been written in Boston at the same time as the rest of the book, and prior to the middle of March, 1638, while there is no evidence whatever that any portion of Welde's "additions" was written before 1644.² What Welde wrote deals wholly with the events, or "conclusions," subsequent to the completion of the original narrative, including its closing pages.

If, as Welde says,—and, Mr. Savage and his elaborate theory to the contrary notwithstanding, no ground whatever exists for discrediting Welde's statement, while there is every ground for accepting it,—if, as Welde in his address "To the Reader" says, he met the "Book newly come forth from the Presse," meaning a copy of the edition bearing the "Antinomians and Familists" titlepage, it would then be apparent that everything found in this, the earliest and authentic

¹ Paget's *Herefography*, p 91.

² The term "American Jezebel" is found on the last page (66) of the *Short Story* (*infra*, p. 232), and, as an epithet, is supposed to be characteristic of Welde, and not at all so of Winthrop. On the same page, and in the same paragraph, are these words: "God giving her up since the sentence of excommunication, to that hardness of heart, as she is not affected with any remorse but glories in it, and shews not the ven-

geance of God, which she lyes under," &c. Yet Mr. Savage persistently argued that this language, because at the end of the book, was necessarily part of Welde's "additions to the conclusion" of it, and was written by Welde in London, in 1644, and not by Winthrop in Boston, in 1638. And this, too, though Welde describes in the preface signed by him how Mrs. Hutchinson had been killed by the Indians in 1643.

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authentic imprint, was set up directly from a copy of the manuscript "sent into England to be published there" in the spring of 1638. Welde's "additions" were simply those portions of the subsequent imprints in which they differed from the earliest and authentic imprint. What those portions were was clearly shown as the results of Mr. Savage's careful collations. They were confined simply and strictly to the prefatory matter signed with Welde's initials or name.

X It has already been said that the *Short Story* supplies the only consecutive narrative of the events of the so-called Antinomian controversy. Certain documents, printed and in manuscript, have nevertheless from time to time come to light bearing on portions of that episode.¹ Among these the more important are, —

1. A portion of the Hutchinson Papers.
2. The Report of the church trial of Mrs. Hutchinson.
3. References in portions of Cotton's *Way of Congregational Churches Cleared*.

As the several documents in Hutchinson's State Papers relating to the Antinomian controversy are included in the edition of the Hutchinson papers in the Publications of the Prince Society, and can be consulted there, they are not reproduced in the present volume.² The report of the trial
of

X ¹ There is a valuable monograph on the bibliography of the Antinomian controversy in *Harvard College Library Bulletin No. 11* (1879), prepared by Dr. Winsor. The conclusions therein reached as to the sequence in the editions of the *Short Story* are similar to these in the text. The 1692 edition

differs in no essential respect from those of 1644. Dr. Winsor in his monograph indicates the collections, private and public, which own original copies of the several works referred to.

² Johnson devotes a considerable portion of his *Wonder-Working Providence* to the Antinomian controversy, and,

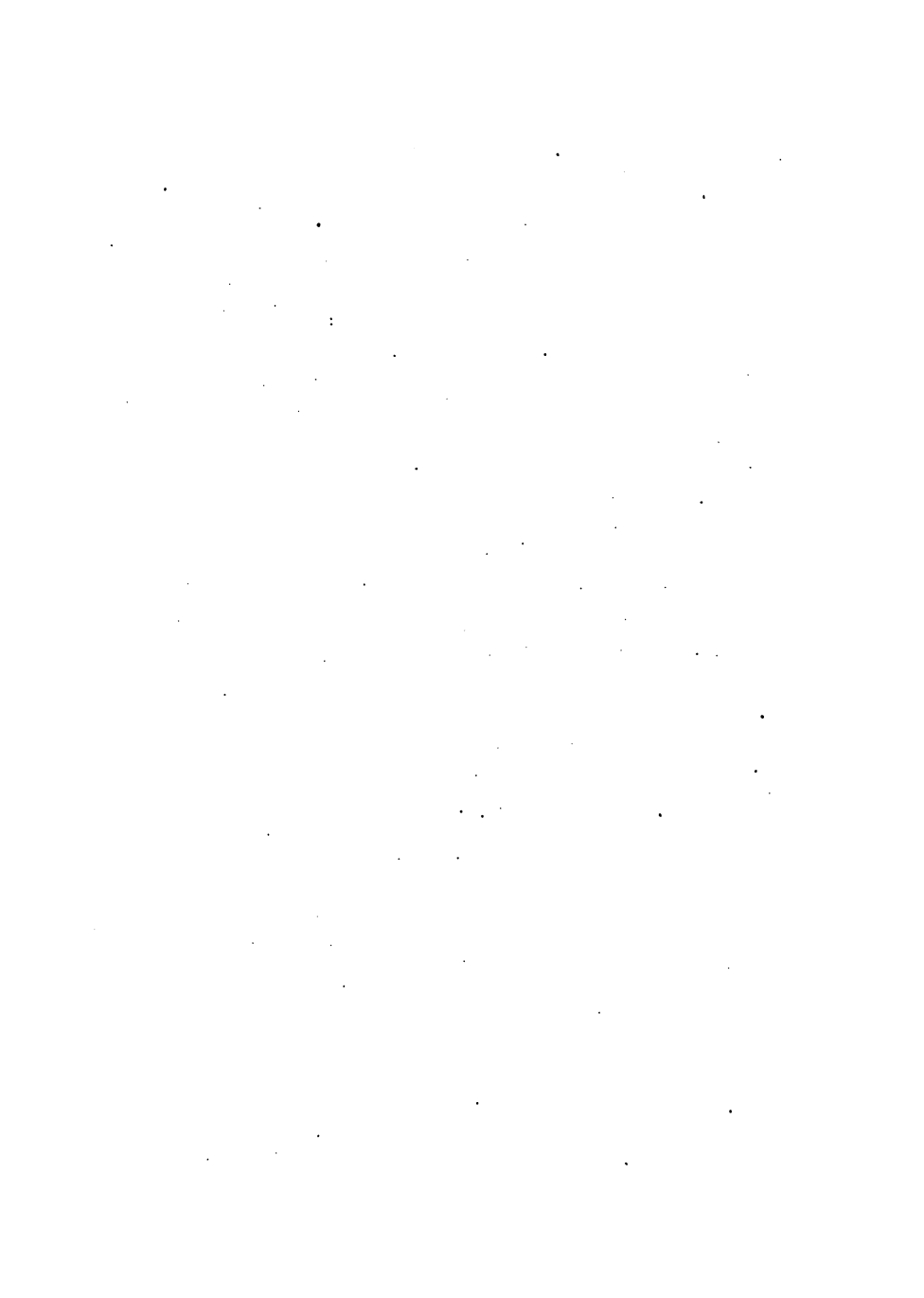
of Mrs. Hutchinson before the church of Boston is reproduced in the present volume, in order that the publications of the Society may include in an annotated form all the known documents and material of any considerable moment relating to this, as has already been said, most interesting as well as most far-reaching and characteristic episode in New England history.

and, as he arrived in Boston while that controversy was in its most exciting phase, he is a contemporaneous authority in regard to it. "He evidently never comprehended the new dispensation; but, understanding well the old landmarks, he opposed the Antinomians with all the energy of his being. Nearly forty pages of his book are devoted to

this unintelligible subject, and serve as a curious illustration of the intensity of feeling exhibited in that controversy." This statement of Dr. Poole, in the introduction to his edition of the *Wonder-Working Providence*, sufficiently explains why the portions of that work referred to are not here reproduced.

POSTSCRIPT.

As the last pages of this volume were passing through the press, Professor Williston Walker's volume, entitled *Creeeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, appeared; as also Mr. Abner C. Goodell, Jr.'s paper in the first publication of the COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS. Each contained valuable matter relating to the Antinomian controversy of 1636-1638, to which it was impossible to refer in this volume. They are important contributions to the literature of the subject, and should be consulted in connection with it. X





A

SHORT STORY

OF THE

Life, reign, and ruine of the *Antinomians,*
Fanilists & Libertines, that infected the Churches

OF

NEVV ENGLAND:

and how they were confuted by the Assembly of Ministers there: As also of the Magistrates proceedings in Court against them.

together with Gods strange and remarkable judgements from Heaven upon some of the chief fomenters of these Opinions, And the lamentable death of *Mr. Hutchinson*.

very fit for these times; here being the same errors amongst us, and acted by the same spirit.

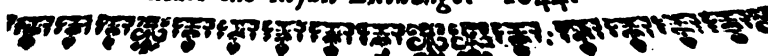
published at the instant request of sundry, by one that was an eye and care-witnesse of the carriage of matters there.

By John Winthrop, Past.

Ephes. 4. 14.
As no more children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning or subtilty, whereby they lie in wait to deceive. Beware, lest ye being led away with the error of the wicked, ye fall from your own stedfastness. 2 Pet. 3. 17.

LONDON,

Printed for *Ralph Smith* at the signe of the Bible in Cornhill neare the Royall Exchange. 1644.







To the Reader.



Meeting with this Book, newly come forth of the Presse, and being earnestly pressed by diverse to perfect it, by laying downe the order and sence of this story, (which in the Book is omitted) Though for mine owne part, I was more slow unto it; not as if I thinke it containes any thing but truth; but because the names of some parties, that acted in our troubles, that have, since that time, (I hope) repented, and so God having pardoned their sins in Heaven, I should have beene loath to have revived them on earth; But considering that their names are already in Print without any act of mine, and that the necessity of the times call for it, and it's requisite that Gods great works should be made knowne; I therefore, in a straight of time, not having had many houres, have drawne up this following Preface, and prefixed hereunto, with some additions to the conclusion of the Book. I commend thy selfe and this to the blessing of God.

T. W.

The





THE PREFACE.

AFTER we had escaped the cruell hands of persecuting Prelates, and the dangers at Sea, and had prettily well outgrowne our wildernes troubles in our first plantings in New-England; And when our Common-wealth began to be founded, and our Churches sweetely settled in Peace, (God abounding to us in more happy enjoyments then we could have expected:) [Lest we should, now, grow secure, our wise God (who seldome suffers his owne, in this their wearysome Pilgrimage to be long without trouble) sent a new storme after us, which proved the sorest tryall that ever befell us since we left our Native soyle.]

Which was this, that some going thither from hence full fraught with many unsound and loose opinions, after a time, began to open their packs, and freely vent their wares to any that would be their customers; Multitudes of men and women, Church-members and others, having tasted of their Commodities, were eager after them, and were streight infected before they were aware, and some being tainted conveyed the infection to others: and thus that Plague first began amongst

us.

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us, that had not the wisdome and faithfulness of him, that watcheth over his vineyard night and day, by the beames of his Light and Grace cleared and purged the ayre, certainly, we had not beene able to have breathed there comfortably much longer.

Our discourse of them shall tend to shew,

- 1. What these opinions were.*
- 2. How they spread so fast and prevailed so suddainely.*
- 3. How they did rage and raigne when they had once gotten head.*
- 4. How they fell and were ruined, when they were at highst.*

The opinions, (some of them) were such as these; I say, some of them, to give but a tast, for afterwards you shall see a litter of fourescore and eleven of their brats hung up against the Sunne, besides many new ones of Mistris Hutchinsons, all which they hatched and dandled; As

- 1. That the Law, and the Preaching of it is of no use at all, to drive a man to Christ.*
- 2. That a man is united to Christ, and justified without faith: yea from eternity.*
- 3. That faith is not a receiving of Christ, but a mans discerning that he hath received him already.*
- 4. That a man is united to Christ onely, by the worke of the Spirit upon him, without any act of his.*
- 5. That a man is never effectually Christs, till he hath assurance.*
- 6. This assurance is onely from the witnessse of the Spirit.*
- 7. This witnessse of the Spirit is meerly immediate without any respect to the word, or any concurrence with it.*
- 8. When*

8. *When a man hath once this witnesse he never doubts more.*

9. *To question my assurance, though I fall into Murther or Adullery, proves that I never had true assurance.*

10. *Sanctification can be no evidence of a mans good estate.*

11. *No comfort can be had from any conditionall promise.*

12. *Poverty in spirit (to which Christ pronounceth blessednesse, Mat. 5. 3.) is onely this, to see I have no grace at all.*

13. *To see I have no grace in me, will give me comfort; but to take comfort from sight of grace, is legall.*

14. *An hypocrite may have Adams graces that he had in Innocency.*

15. *The graces of Saints and Hypocrites differ not.*

16. *All graces are in Christ as in the Subject, and none in us, so that Christ beleaves, Christ loves, &c.*

17. *Christ is the new Creature.*

18. *God loves a man never the better for any holinesse in him, and never the lesse, be he never so unholy.*

19. *Sinne in a childe of God must never trouble him.*

20. *Trouble in conscience for sins of commission, or for neglect of duties, shewes a man to be under a Covenant of workes.*

21. *All Covenants to God expressed in words are legall workes.*

22. *A Christian is not bound to the Law as a rule of his conversation.*

23. *A Christian is not bound to pray except the Spirit moves him.*

24. *A Minister that hath not this (new) light is not able to edifie others that have it.*

25. *The*

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25. *The whole letter of the Scripture is a covenant of works.*

> 26. *No Christian must be prest to duties of holinesse.*

27. *No Christian must be exhorted to faith, love, and prayer, &c. except we know he hath the Spirit.*

28. *A man may have all graces, and yet want Christ.*

29. *All a belevers activity is onely to a^ct sinne.*

Now these, most of them, being so grosse, one would wonder how they should spread so fast and suddenly amongst a people so religious and well taught.

For declaring of this, be pleased to attend two things.

1. *The nature of the Opinions themselves, which open such a faire and easie way to Heaven, that men may passe without difficulty. For, if a man need not be troubled by the Law, before faith, but may step to Christ so easily; and then, if his faith be no going out of himselfe to take Christ, but onely a discerning that Christ is his owne already, and is onely an a^ct of the Spirit upon him, no a^ct of his owne done by him; and if he, for his part, must see nothing in himselfe, have nothing, doe nothing, onely he is to stand still and waite for Christ to doe all for him. And then if after faith, the Law no rule to walke by, no sorrow or repentance for sinne; he must not be pressed to duties, and need never pray, unlesse moved by the Spirit: And if he fals into sinne, he is never the more disliked of God, nor his condition never the worse. And for his assurance, it being given him by the Spirit, he must never let it goe, but abide in the height of comfort, though he fals into the grossest sinnes that he can. Then their way to life was made easie, if so, no marvell so many like of it.*

And this is the very reason, besides the novelty of it, that this

this kind of doctrine takes so well here in London, and other parts of the Kingdome, and that you see so many dance after this pipe, running after such and such, crowding the Churches and filling the doores and windowes, even such carnall and vile persons (many of them) as care not to heare any other godly Ministers, but onely their Leaders. Oh, it pleaseth nature well to have Heaven, and their lusts too.

2. Consider their sleights they used in fomenting their Opinions; some of which I will set downe: as

1. They laboured much to acquaint themselves with as many, as possibly they could, that so they might have the better opportunity to communicate their new light unto them.

2. Being once acquainted with them, they would strangely labour to insinuate themselves into their affections, by loving salutes, humble carriage, kind invitments, friendly visits, and so they would winne upon men, and scale into their bosomes before they were aware. Yea, assoone as any new-commers (especially, men of note, worth, and activity, fit instruments to advance their designe) were landed, they would be sure to welcome them, shew them all courtesie, and offer them roome in their owne houses, or of some of their owne Sect, and so having gotten them into their Web, they could easily poyson them by degrees; It was rare for any man thus hooked in, to escape their Leaven.

3. (Because such men as would seduce others, had need be some way eminent) they would appeare very humble, holy, and spirituall Christians, and full of Christ; they would deny themselves farre, speake excellently, pray with such soule-ravishing expressions and affections, that a stranger that loved goodnesse, could not but love and admire them, and so be the more easily

easily drawne after them; looking upon them as men and women as likely to know the secrets of Christ, and besome-counsels of his Spirit, as any other.

And this opinion of them was the more lifted up through the simplicitie and weaknesse of their followers, who would, in admiration of them, tell others, that, since the Apostles times, they were perswaded, none ever received so much light from God, as such and such had done, naming their Leaders.

4. *As they would lift up themselves, so also their Opinions, by guilding them over with specious termes of Free Grace, glorious light, Gospel truths, as holding forth naked Christ: and this tooke much with simple honest hearts that loved Christ, especially with new converts, who were lately in bondage under sinne and wrath, and had newly tasted the sweetnesse of Free Grace; being now in their first love to Christ, they were exceeding glad to imbrace any thing, that might further advance Christ and Free Grace; and so drank them in readily.*

5. *If they met with Christians that were full of doubts and feares about their conditions, (as many tender and godly hearts there were) they would tell them, they had never taken a right course for comfort, but had gone on (as they were led) in a legall way of evidencing their good estate by Sanctification, and gazing after qualifications in themselves; and would shew them from their owne experience, that themselves for a long time were befooled even as they are now, in poring upon graces in themselves, and while they did so they never prospered, but were driven to pull all that building downe, and lay better and safer foundations in Free Grace; and then would tell them of this Gospel-way we speake of, how they might come to such a settled peace that they might never doubt*
more,

more, though they should see no grace at all in themselves: and so (as it is said of the Harlots dealing with the young man, Prov. 7. 21.) with much faire speech they caused them to yeeld, with the flattering of their lips they forced them.

6. They commonly laboured to worke first upon women,^{*} being (as they conceived) the weaker to resist; the more flexible, tender, and ready to yeeld: and if once they could winde in them, they hoped by them, as by an Eve, to catch their husbands also, which indeed often proved too true amongst us there.

7. As soone as they had thus wrought in themselves, and a good conceit of their Opinions, by all these wayes of subtilty, into the hearts of people; nextly they strongly endeavored with all the craft they could, to undermine the good Opinion of their Ministers, and their doctrine, and to worke them cleane out of their affections, telling them they were sorry that their Teachers had so mis-led them, and trained them up under a Covenant of workes, and that themselves never having beene taught of God, it is no wonder they did no better teach them the truth, and how they may fit till doomes day under their legall Sermons, and never see light; and withall sometimes casting aspersions on their persons, and practise, as well as their doctrine, to bring them quite out of esteeme with them. And this they did so effectually, that many declined the hearing of them, though they were members of their Churches, and others that did heare, were so filled with prejudice that they profited not, but studied how to object against them, and censure their doctrine, which (whiles they stood right) was wont to make their hearts to melt and tremble.]

Yea,

Yea, some that had bene begotten to Christ by some of their faithfull labours in this Land, for whom they could have laid downe their lives, and not being able to beare their absence, followed after them thither to New-England to enjoy their labours; yet these falling acquainted with those Seducers, were suddenly so altered in their affections towards those their spirituall fathers, that they would neither heare them, nor willingly come in their company, professing they had never received any good from them.

8. *They would not, till they knew men well, open the whole mystery of their new Religion to them, but this was ever their method, to drop a little at once into their followers as they were capable, and never would administer their Physicke, till they had first given good preparatives to make it worke, and then stronger & stronger potions, as they found the Patient able to beare.*

9. *They would in company now and then let fall some of their most plausible errors, as a bait let downe to catch withall; now if any began to nibble at the baite, they would angle still, and never give over till they had caught them; but if any should espie the naked hooke, and so see their danger, and professe against the opinions, then you should have them fairely retreat, & say, Nay, mistake me not, for I doe meane even as you doe, you and I are both of one minde in substance, and differ onely in words: By this kinde of (Jesuiticall dealing) they did not onely keepe their credit with them, as men that held nothing but the truth; but gained this also, viz. that when, afterwards, they should heare those men taxed for holding errors, they would be ready to defend them, and say, (out of their simplicity of heart) Such men hold nothing but truth,*
for

for I my selfe once judged of them, even as you doe, but when I heard them explaine themselves, they and I were both one: By this (Machivilian policy) these deluders were reputed sound in their judgments, and so were able to doe the more hurt, and were longer undetected.

10. What men they saw eminent in the Country, and of most esteeme in the hearts of the People, they would be sure still, to father their opinions upon them, and say, I hold nothing but what I had from such and such a man, whereas their judgements and expressions also were in truth, farre differing from theirs upon point of tryall, but if it came to passe, that they were brought face to face to make it good, (as sometimes they have beene) they would winde out with some evasion or other, or else say, I understood him so: for it was so frequent with them, to have many darke shadows and colours to cover their opinions and expressions withall, that it was a wonderfull hard matter to take them tardy, or to know the bottome of what they said or sealed.

11. But the last and worst of all, which most suddainly diffused the venome of these opinions into the very veines and vitalls of the People in the Country, was Mistris Hutchinsons double weckely-lecture,¹ which she kept under a pretence of repeating Sermons, to which resorted sundry of Boston, and other Townes about, to the number of fifty, sixty, or eighty at once; where, after she had repeated the Sermon, she would make her comment upon it, vent her mischievous opinions as she pleased, and wreathed the Scriptures to her owne purpose; where the custome was for her Scholars to propound questions, and she (gravely sitting in the chaire) did make answers thereunto.

¹ *Infra*, p. 161, n.

unto. *The great respect she had at first in the hearts of all, and her profitable and sober carriage of matters,¹ for a time, made this her practise lesse suspected by the godly Magistrates, and Elders of the Church there, so that it was winked at, for a time, (though afterward reproved by the Assembly and called into Court) but it held so long, untill she had spread her leavin so farre, that had not providence prevented, it had proved the Canker of our Peace, and ruine of our comforts.*

By all these meanes and cunning sleights they used, it came about that those errors were so soone conveyed, before we were aware, not onely into the Church of Boston, where most of these seducers lived, but also into almost all the parts of the Country, round about.

These Opinions being thus spread, and growne to their full ripcnesse and latitude, through the nimbleness and activity of their fomenters, began now to lift up their heads full high, to stare us in the face, and to confront all that opposed them.

And that which added vigour and boldnesse to them was this, that now by this time they had some of all sorts, and quality, in all places to defend and Patronise them; Some of the Magistrates, some Gentlemen, some Scholars, and men of learning, some Burgessees of our Generall Court, some of our Captains and Souldiers, some chiefe men in Townes, and some men eminent for Religion, parts and wit.² So that wheresoever the case of the Opinions came in agitation, there wanted not Patrons to stand up to plead for them; and if any of the Opinionists were complained of in the Courts for their misdemeaners, or brought before the Churches for conviction or censure, still, some or other of that party would not onely
suspend

¹ *Infra*, pp. 158, 356.

² *Infra*, pp. 161, 163.

suspend giving their vote against them, but would labour to justify them, side with them, and protest against any sentence that should passe upon them, and so be ready, not onely to harden the Delinquent against all meanes of conviction, but to raise a mutinie, if the major part should carry it against them; so in Town-meetings, Military-trainings, and all other societies, yea almost in every family, it was hard if that some or other were not ready to rise up in defence of them, even as of the apple of their owne eye.¹

Now, oh their boldnesse, pride, insolency, alienations from their old and dearest friends, the disturbances, divisions, contentions they raised amongst us, both in Church and State, and in families, setting division betwixt husband and wife!

Oh the sore censures against all sorts that opposed them, and the contempt they cast upon our godly Magistrates, Churches, Ministers, and all that were set over them, when they stood in their way!

Now the faithfull Ministers of Christ must have dung cast on their faces, and be no better then legall Preachers, Baals Priests, Popish Factors, Scribes, Pharisees, and Opposers of Christ himselfe.

Now they must be pointed at, as it were with the finger, and reproached by name, Such a Church officer is an ignorant man, and knowes not Christ; such an one is under a Covenant of workes; such a Pastor is a proud man, and would make a good persecutor; such a Teacher is grossely Popish; so that through these reproaches occasion was given to men to abhorre the offerings of the Lord.

Now, one of them in a solemne convention of Ministers dared to

¹ *Infra*, p. 161, n.

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to say to their faces, that they did not preach the Covenant of Free Grace, and that they themselves had not the seals of the Spirit, &c.¹

Now, after our Sermons were ended at our publike Lectures, you might have seene halfe a dozen Pistols discharged at the face of the Preacher, (I meane) so many objections made by the opinionists in the open Assembly against our doctrine delivered, if it suited not their new fancies, to the marvellous weakning of holy truths delivered (what in them lay) in the hearts of all the weaker sort; and this done not once and away, but from day to day after our Sermons; yea, they would come when they heard a Minister was upon such a point as was like to strike at their opinions, with a purpose to oppose him to his face.

Now, you might have seene many of the Opinionists rising up, and contemptuously turning their backs upon the faithfull Pastor of that Church, and going forth from the Assembly when he began to pray or preach.²

Now, you might have read Epistles of defiance and challenge, written to some Ministers after their Sermons, to crosse and contradict truths by them delivered, and to maintaine their owne way.

Now, might one have frequently heard, both in Court and Church-meetings, where they were dealt withall, about their Opinions, and exorbitant carriages, such bold and menacing expressions as these.

This I hold, and will hold to my death, and will maintaine it with my bloud. And if I cannot be heard here, I must be forced to take some other course.³

They

¹ *Infra*, pp. 134, 141, 164, 195, 196.

² *Infra*, pp. 132, 370-372.

³ *Infra*, p. 150.

They said moreover what they would doe against us (biting their words in) when such and such opportunities should be offered to them, as they daily expected. Insomuch that we had great cause to have feared the extremity of danger from them, in case power had bene in their hands.

Now, you might have heard one of them preaching a most dangerous Sermon in a great Assembly;¹ when he divided the whole Country into two ranks, some (that were of his Opinion) under a Covenant of Grace, and those were friends to Christ; others under a Covenant of Workes, whom they might know by this, if they evidence their good estate by their Sanctification: those were (said he) enemies to Christ, Herods, Pilates, Scribes and Pharisees, yea, Antichrists; and advised all under a Covenant of Grace, to look upon them as such, and did, with great zeale, simulate them to deale with them as they would with such: And withall alleading the Story of Moses that killed the Egyptian, barely left it so: I mention not this or any thing, in the least degree, to reflect upon this man, or any other; for God hath long since opened his eyes (I hope.) But to shew what racket these Opinions did make there, and will any where else where they get an head.

Now, might you have seene open contempt cast upon the face of the whole generall Court in subtile words to this very effect. That the Magistrates were Ahabs, Amaziahs, Scribes and Pharisees, enemies to Christ, led by Satan, that old enemy of Free Grace, and that it were better that a Milstone were hung about their necks, and they were drowned in the Sea, then they should censure one of their judgement. which they were now about to doe.

Another

¹ *Infra*, pp. 133, 134, 141, 203-204.

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Another of them you might have seene so audaciously insolent, and high-flowne in spirit and speech, that she bade the Court of Magistrates (when they were about to censure her for her pernicious carriages) Take heed what they did to her, for she knew by an infallible revelation, that for this act which they were about to passe against her, God would ruine them, their Posterity, and that whole Common-wealth.¹

By a little tast of a few passages in stead of multitudes here presented, you may see what an height they were growne unto, in a short time; and what a spirit of pride, insolency, contempt of authority, division, sedition they were acted by: It was a wonder of mercy that they had not set our Common-wealth and Churches on a fire, and consumed us all therein.

They being mounted to this height, and carried with such a strong hand (as you have heard,) and seeing a spirit of pride, subtilty, malice, and contempt of all men, that were not of their minds, breathing in them (our hearts sadded, and our spirits, tyred) wee sighed and groaned to Heaven, we humbled our soules by prayer and fasting, that the Lord would find out and blesse some meanes and wayes for the cure of this sore, and deliver his truth and our selves from this heavie bondage. Which (when his owne time was come) he hearkened unto, and in infinite mercy looked upon our sorrowes, and did, in a wonderfull manner, beyond all expectation free us by these meanes following.

1. *He stirred up all the Ministers spirits in the Country to preach against those errors, and praetises that so much pestered the Country, to informe, to confute, to rebuke, &c. thereby to cure those that were diseased already, and to give*
Antidotes

¹ *Infra*, p. 176.

Antidotes to the rest, to preserve them from infection. And though this ordinance went not without its appointed effect, in the latter respect, yet we found it not so effectually for the driving away of this infection, as we desired, for they (most of them) hardened their faces, and bent their wits how to oppose and confirme themselves in their way.

2. *We spent much time and strength in conference with them, sometimes in private before the Elders onely, sometimes in our publique Congregation for all comers; many, very many houres and halfe dayes together we spent therein to see if any meanes might prevaile; we gave them free leave, with all lenity and patience, to lay downe what they could say for their Opinions, and answered them, from point to point, and then brought cleare arguments from evident Scriptures against them, and put them to answer us even untill they were oftentimes brought to be either silent, or driven to deny common principles, or shuffe off plaine Scripture; and yet (such was their pride and hardnesse of heart that) they would not yeeld to the truth, but did tell us they would take time to consider of our arguments, and in meane space meeting with some of their abettors, strengthened themselves againe in their old way, that when we dealt with them next time, we found them further off then before, so that our hopes began to languish of reducing them by private meanes.*

3. *Then we had an Assembly of all the Ministers and learned men in the whole Countrey, which held for three weekes together, at Cambridge (then called New-Towne) Mr. Hooker¹ and*

¹ The Rev. Thomas Hooker was born at Markfield in Leicester County, England, probably on July 7, 1586; he

arrived in Boston September 4, 1633, and died at Hartford, Conn., July 7, 1647. There is an account of him in the

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and Mr. Bulkley¹ (alias Buckley) being chosen Moderatours, or Proloquutors, the Magistrates sitting present all that time, as hearers, and speakers also when they saw fit: a liberty also was given to any of the Country to come in and heare, (it being appointed, in great part, for the satisfaction of the people) and a place was appointed for all the Opinionists to come in, and take liberty of speech, (onely due order observed) as much as any of our selves had, and as freely.

The first weeke we spent in confuting the loose opinions that we gathered up in the Country, the summe of which is set downe, pag. 1. &c. The other fortnight we spent in a plaine Syllogisticall dispute, (ad vulgus as much as might be) gathering up nine of the chiefest points, (on which the rest depended) and disputed of them all in order, pro and con. In the forenoones we framed our arguments, and in the afternoones produced them in publick, and next day the Adversary gave in their

the *Magnalia* (B. III. P. I. Appendix), and notices will be found in all the biographical cyclopedias. A selection from his works, together with a memoir of his life, was published in 1849 by his descendant, the Rev. Edward W. Hooker. More recently (1891) a life of him by George Leon Walker has been included in the popular *Makers of America* series; to this life is appended a bibliography of Hooker's published works, prepared by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull.

¹ The Rev. Peter Bulkeley, first minister of the Concord church. Born in England, January 31, 1583, he came to New England in 1635, and died at Concord, March 9, 1659. In his Concord Centennial discourse (1835), Ralph Waldo Emerson referred to Mr. Bulke-

ley as "descended from a noble family, honored for his own virtues, his learning, and gifts as a preacher, and adding to his influence the weight of a large estate"; and of him Savage says, in his notes to *Winthrop* (Vol. I. p. *167): "The character of Rev. Peter Bulkley is so well known by the reader of our early books, and the labors of Eliot and Allen have so successfully transferred to their pages the truth, which a succession of reverend descendants had preserved, that it were supererogation for me to enlarge this note." A notice of the life and writings of Mr. Bulkeley is contained in Shattuck's *History of Concord* (chap. x.). Cotton Mather devotes to him one chapter of the *Magnalia* (B. III. P. II. chap. x.).

their answers, and produced also their arguments on the same questions; then we answered them, and replied also upon them the next day. These disputes are not mentioned at all in the following discourse, happily, because of the swelling of the books. God was much present with his Servants, truth beganne to get ground, and the adverse party to be at a stand, but after discourse amongst themselves, still they hardened one another, yet the works of the Assembly (through Gods blessing) gained much on the hearers, that were indifferent, to strengthen them, and on many wavering, to settle them: the error of the opinions and wilfulnesse of their maintainers laid starke naked.

4. *Then after this meane was tryed, and the Magistrates saw that neither our Preaching, Conferencce, nor yet our Assembly meeting did effect the cure, but that, still, after conference had together, the Leaders put such life into the rest, that they all went on in their former course, not onely to disturbe the Churches, but miserably interrupt the civill Peace, and that they threw contempt both upon Courts, and Churches, and began now to raise sedition amongst us, to the indangering the Common-wealth; Illeupon for these grounds named, (and not for their opinions, as themselves falsely reported, and as our godly Magistrates have beene much traduced here in England) for these reasons (I say) being civill disturbances, the Magistrate convents them, (as it plaine appeares, pag. 28, 29. of this booke) and censures them; some were disfranchised, others fined, the incurable amongst them banished.*

This was an other meane of their subduing, some of the leaders being downe, and others gone, the rest were weakned, but yet they (for all this) strongly held up their heads many a day after.

5. Then

5. Then God himselfe was pleased to step in with his casting voice, and bring in his owne vote and suffrage from heaven, by testifying his displeasure against their opinions and practises, as clearly as if he had pointed with his finger, in causing the two somenting women in the time of the height of the Opinions to produce out of their wombs, as before they had out of their braines, such monstrous births as no Chronicle (I thinke) hardly ever recorded the like. Mistris Dier brought forth her birth of a woman child, a fish, a beast, and a fowle, all woven together in one, and without an head, as pag. 44. describes, to which I referre the reader.

Mistris Hutchison being big with child, and growing towards the time of her labour, as other women doe, she brought forth not one, (as Mistris Dier did) but (which was more strange to amazement) 30. monstrous births or thereabouts, at once; some of them bigger, some lesser, some of one shape, some of another; few of any perfect shape, none at all of them (as farre as I could ever learne) of humane shape.¹

These things are so strange, that I am almost loath to be the reporter of them, lest I should seeme to feigne a new story, and not to relate an old one, but I have learned otherwise (blessed be his name) then to delude the world with untruths.

And these things are so well knowne in New England, that they have becne made use of in publike, by the reverend Teacher of Boston, and testified by so many letters to friends here, that the things are past question.

And see how the wisdome of God fitted this judgement to her sinne every way, for looke as she had vented mishapen opinions, so she must bring forth deformed monsters; and as about

30.

¹ Vide Savage's *Winthrop*, Vol. I. pp. ° 271-° 272; *infra*, pp. 187-190.

30. *Opinions in number, so many monsters; and as those were publike, and not in a corner mentioned, so this is now come to be knowne and famous over all these Churches, and a great part of the world.*

And though he that runnes may read their sinne in these judgements; yet, behold the desperate and stupendous hardnesse of heart in these persons and their followers, who were so farre from seeing the finger of God in all these dreadful passages, that they turned all from themselves upon the faithfull servants of God that laboured to reclaime them, saying:

This is for you, yee legalists, that your eyes might be further blinded, by Gods hand upon us, in your legall wayes, and stumble and fall, and in the end breake your necks into Hell, if yce imbrace not the truth.

Now I am upon Mistris Hutchisons story, I will digresse a little to give you a further tast of her spirit, viz. After she was gone from us to the Iland, the Church of Boston sent unto her foure of their members, (men of a lovely and winning spirit, as most likely to prevaile) to see if they could convince and reduce her, according to 2 Thef. 3. 13. When they came first unto her, she asked from whom they came, and what was their businesse; They answered, We are come in the name of the Lord Jesus, from the Church of Christ at Boston, to labour to convince you of &c. — At that word she (being filled with as much disdain in her countenance, as bitterness in her spirit) replied, What, from the Church at Boston? I know no such Church, neither will I owne it, call it the Whore and Strumpet of Boston, no Church of Christ; so they said no more, seeing her so desperate, but returned.¹ Behold the spirit of errour, to what a passe it drives a man!

This

¹ *Infra*, p. 398.

This loud-speaking providence from Heaven in the monsters, did much awaken many of their followers (especially the tenderer sort) to attend Gods meaning therein; and made them at such a stand, that they dared not sleight so manifest a signe from Heaven, that from that time we found many of their cares boared (as they had good cause) to attend to counsell, but others yet followed them.

6. *The last stroke that slew the Opinions, was the falling away of their Leaders.*

1. *Into more hideous and soule-destroying delusions, which ruine (indeed) all Religion; as, that the soules of men are mortall like the beasts.*

That there is no such thing as inherent righteousnesse.

That these bodies of ours shall not rise againe.

That their owne revelations of particular events were as infallible as the Scripture, &c.

2. *They also grew (many of them) very loose and degenerate in their practises (for these Opinions will certainly produce a filthy life by degrees) As no prayer in their families, no Sabbath, insufferable pride, frequent and hideous lying; diverse of them being proved guilty, some of five, other of ten grosse lies; another falling into a lie, God smote him in the very act, that he sunke downe into a ceepe swoune, and being by hot waters recovered, and comming to himselfe, said, Oh God, thou mightst have stricke me dead, as Ananias and Saphira, for I have maintained a lie. Mistris Hutchison and others cast out of the Church for lying, and some guilty of fouler sinnes then all these, which I here name not.¹*

These

¹ The reference is to Captain John Underhill, in regard to whom, his connection with these troubles, and his subsequent confessions and experiences, *vide*

These things exceedingly amazed their followers, (especially such as were led after them in the simplicity of their hearts, as many were) and now they began to see that they were deluded by them.

A great while they did not believe that Mistris Hutchison and some others did hold such things as they were taxed for, but when themselves heard her defending her twenty nine cursed opinions in Boston Church, and there falling into fearfull lying, with an impudent fore-head in the open Assembly, then they beleaved what before they could not, and were ashamed before God and men, that ever they were so led aside from the Lord and his truth, and the godly Counsell of their faithfull Ministers, by such an Imposter as she was.

Now no man could lay more upon them, then they would upon themselves, in their acknowledgment.¹

Many after this came unto us, who before strew from us, with such desires as those in Act. 2. Men and brethren what shall we doe? and did willingly take shame to themselves in the open Assemblies by confessing (Some of them with many teares) how they had given offence to the Lord and his people, by departing from the truth, and being led by a spirit of error, their alienation from their brethren in their affections, and their crooked and perverse walking in contempt of authority, slighting the Churches, and despising the counsell of their godly Teachers.

Now they would freely discover the sleights the Adversaries had used to undermine them by, and steale away their eyes from the truth and their brethren, which before (whiles their hearts

vide Savage's Winthrop, passim, and Adams's Three Episodes (Vol. II. pp. 551-558); also, infra, pp. 180-182.

¹ The reference is to Cotton. *Vide Savage's Winthrop, Vol. I. p. 253.*

hearts were feled) they could not see. And the fruit of this was, great praise to the Lord, who had thus wonderfully wrought matters about; gladnesse in all our hearts and faces, and exprefions of our renewed affections by receiving them againe into our bosomes, and from that time untill now have walked (according to their renewed Covenants) humbly and lovingly amongst us, holding forth Truth and Peace with power.

But for the rest, which (notwithstanding all these meanes of conviction from heaven and earth, and the example of their seduced brethrens returne) yet stood obdurate, yea more hardened (as we had cause to feare) then before; we convented those of them that were members before the Churches, and yet, laboured once and againe to convince them, not onely of their errors, but also of sundry exorbitant practises which they had fallen into; as manifest Pride, contempt of authority, neglecting to feare the Church, and lying, &c. but after no meanes prevailed, we were driven with sad hearts to give them up to Satan: Yet not simply for their Opinions (for which I find we have beene slanderously traduced) but the chiefest cause of their censure was their miscarriages (as have beene said) persisted in with great obstinacy.

The persons cast out of the Churches, were about nine or ten, as farre as I can remember; who, for a space, continued very hard and impenitent, but afterward some of them were received into fellowship againe, upon their repentance.

These persons cast out, and the rest of the Ringleaders that had received sentence of banishment, with many others infected by them, that were neither censured in Court, nor in Churches, went all together out of our jurisdiction and precinct into an
Iland

Preface.

and, called Read-Iland, (surnamed by some, the Iland of errors) and there they live to this day, most of them, but in great strife and contention in the civill estate and otherwise, hatching and multiplying new Opinions, and cannot agree, but are miserably divided into sundry sects and factions.

But Mistris Hutchison being weary of the Iland, or rather the Iland weary of her, departed from thence with all her family, her daughter, and her children, to live under the Dutch, neare a place called by Sea-men, and in the Map, Hell-gate. (And now I am come to the last act of her Tragedy, a most heavie stroake upon herselfe and hers, as I received it very lately from a godly hand in New-England) There the Indians set upon them, and slew her and all her family, her daughter, and her daughters husband, and all their children, save one that escaped;¹ (her owne husband being dead before) a dreadfull blow. Some write that the Indians did burne her to death with fire, her house and all the rest named that belonged to her; but I am not able to affirme by what kind of death they slew her, but slaine it seemes she is, according to all reports. I never heard that the Indians in those parts did ever before this, commit the like outrage upon any one family,

or

¹ In regard to the destruction of Mrs. Hutchinson and the members of her family, and the captivity and subsequent redemption of the one child not killed, *vide* Bolton's *History of the County of Westchester*, Vol. II. pp. 29-34. The child in question is sometimes referred to as a granddaughter of Mrs. Hutchinson (Brodhead's *New York*, Vol. I. p. 366); but Savage speaks of her as daughter (*Genealogical Dictionary*, Vol. I. pp. 427-428). Susannah Hutchinson, the child in question, mar-

ried John Cole, December 30, 1651, and died in 1726, in what is now North Kingstown, R. I., where a large number of lineal descendants from her yet reside. The Cole genealogy is included in Austin's *Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island* (p. 50); and there is also an account of John and Edward Cole, two of the grandsons of Susannah (Hutchinson) Cole, in Updiker's *History of the Narragansett Church*, pp. 104-107.

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*or families, and therefore Gods hand is the more apparen:
seene herein, to pick out this wofull woman, to make her and
those belonging to her, an unheard of heaue example of their
cruelty above al others.]*

*Thus the Lord heard our groanes to heaven, and freed us
from this great and sore affliction, which first was small like
Elias cloud, but after spread the heavens, and hath (through
great mercy) giuen the Churches rest from this disturbance
ever since, that we know none that lifts up his head to disturbe
our sweet peace in any of the Churches of Christ amongst us,
blessed for ever be his name.*

*I bow my knees to the God of truth and peace, to grant these
Churches as full a riddance from the same or like Opinions,
which doe destroy his truth, and disturbe their peace.*

A Postscript.

I *Thinke it fit to adde a comfortable passage of newes from
those parts written to me very lately by a faithfull hand,
which as it affected mine owne heart, so it may doe many
others, viz. That two Sagamores¹ (or Indian Princes) with all
their men, women and children, have voluntarily submitted
themselves to the will and law of our God, with expressed
desires to be taught the same; and have for that end put them-
selves under our government and protection, even in the same
manner, as any of the English are: which morning-peepe of
mercy to them (saith he) is a great meane to awaken the spirit
of prayer and faith for them in all the Churches.*

T. Welde.


¹ "Probably Pomham and Sacononoco, who submitted in June, 1643." —
DRANE, M.S. note.



[1]

A Catalogue of such erroneous opinions as were found to have beene brought into *New England*, and spread under-hand there, as they were condemned by an Assembly of the Churches, at *New Town*, Aug. 30.1637.

The Errors

I.  N the conversion of a sinner, which is saving and gracious, the faculties of the soule, and workings thereof, in things pertaining to God, are destroyed and made to cease.

The Confutation.

1. This is contrary to the Scripture, which speaketh of the faculties of the soule, (as the understanding and the will) not as destroyed in conversion, but as changed, *Luk. 24. 45.* Christ is said to have opened their understandings: *Joh. 21. 18.* *Peter* is said to be led whither he would not, therefore he had a will. Againe, to destroy the faculties of the soule, is to destroy the immortality of the soule.

Error 2. In stead of them, the Holy Ghost doth come and take place, and doth all the works of those natures, as the faculties of the human nature of Christ do.

Confutation

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Confutation 2. This is contrary to Scripture which speaketh of God, as sanctifying our soules and spirits; 1 *Theff.* 5. 23. purging our consciences, *Heb.* 9. 14. refreshing our memories, *Joh.* 14. 26.

Error 3. That the love which is said to remain, when faith and hope cease, is the Holy Ghost.

Confutation 3. This is contrary to the Scriptures, which put an expresse difference betweene the Holy Ghost and love, 2 *Cor.* 6. 6. And if our love were the Holy Ghost, we cannot bee said to love God at all, or if wee did, it was, because we were personally united to the Holy Ghost.

Error 4, 5. That those that bee in Christ are not under the Law, and commands of the word, as the rule of life. *Alias*, that the will of God in the Word, or directions thereof, are not the rule whercunto Christians are bound to conforme themselves, to live thereafter.

Confutation 4, 5. This is contrary to the Scriptures, which direct us to the Law and to the Testimony, *Esay* 8. 20. which also speaks of Christians, as not being without Law to God, but under the Law to Christ, 1 *Cor.* 9. 22.

Error 6. The example of Christs life, is not a patterne according to which men ought to act.

[2] *Confutation 6.* This position (those actions of Christ excepted which hee did as God, or as Mediatour, God and Man, or on speciall occasions, which concerne not us,) is unsound, being contrary to the Scripture, wherein the example of Christs life is propounded to Christians as a patterne of imitation, both by Christ and his Apostles. *Mat.* 11. 29. Learne of mee, for I am meeke, &c. 1 *Cor.* 11. 2. Bee yee followers of mee, as I am of Christ, *Ephes.* 5. 2. Walk in love

love as Christ hath loved us, 1 *Pet.* 2. 21. Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that yee should follow his steps, 1 *Joh.* 2. 26. Hee that faith hee abideth in him, ought so to walke, even as hee hath walked.

Error 7. The new creature, or the new man mentioned in the Gospell, is not meant of grace, but of Christ.

Confutation 7. The false-hood of this proposition appeareth from the Scriptures, which first propound Christ and the new creature as distinct one from another, 2 *Cor.* 5. 17. If any man bee in Christ, hee is a new creature. Secondly, The new man is opposed to the old man, the old man is meant of lusts and vices, and not of *Adams* person, *Ephes.* 2. 22. 24. Therefore the new man is meant of graces and vertues, and not of the person of Christ, *Col.* 3. 9. 10. Thirdly, The new man is expressly said to consist in righteousness and true holiness, *Ephes.* 4. 25. and to bee renewed in knowledge, *Col.* 3. 10. which are graces, and not Christ.

Error 8. By love, 1 *Cor.* 13. 13. and by the armour mentioned *Ephes.* 6. are meant Christ.

Confutation 8. This position is neere of kin to the former, but secondly, the opposite, 1 *Cor.* 13. meaneth that love which hee exhorteth Christians to beare one towards another, which if it were meant of Christ, hee might bee said to exhort them to beare Christ one to another, as well as to love one another, 2. Faith and hope there mentioned, have Christ for their object, and if by love bee meant Christ, hee had put no more in the latter word, then in the two former. 3. And besides, it may as well be said, Faith in love, as Faith in Christ, and hope in love, as hope in Christ, if that were the meaning. And by armour, *Ephes.* 6. cannot bee meant

meant Christ. First, because two parts of that armour are Faith and Hope, whereof the Scriptures make Christ the object: *Col. 1. 5.* Beholding the steadfastness of your faith in Christ, *1 Cor. 15. 19.* If in this life only we had hope in Christ, &c. now these graces, and the object of them cannot be the same. Secondly, a person armed with that armour, may be said to be a sincere righteous patient Christian, but if by the armour be meant Christ, sweete predication should have been destroyed, and you might more properly say, a Christified Christian.

Error 9. The whole letter of the Scripture holds for a covenant of workes.

Confutation 9. This position is unfound, and contrary to the constant tenor of the Gospel, a maine part of the Scriptures which in the letter thereof holds not forth a covenant of workes, but of grace, as appeareth, *Joh. 3. 16. 1 Tim. 1.*

15. Mat. 11. 28. Heb. 8. 10, 11, 12.

[3] *Error 10.* That God the Father, Son, and Holy

Ghost, may give themselves to the soule, and the soule may have true union with Christ, true remission of sins, true marriage and fellowship, true sanctification from the blood of Christ, and yet be an hypocrite.

Confutation 10. The word [true] being taken in the sense of the Scriptures, this also crosseth the doctrine of *Ephes. 4. 24.* where righteousness and true holiness are made proper to him, that hath heard and learned the truth, as it is in Jesus.

Error 11. As Christ was once made flesh, so hee is now first made flesh in us, ere we be carried to perfection.

Confutation 11. Christ was once made flesh, *Joh. 1. 14.* no other incarnation is recorded, and therefore not to be believed.

Error

Error 12. Now in the covenant of workes, a legalist may attaine the same righteousnesse for truth, which *Adam* had in innocency before the fall.

Confutation 12. Hee that can attaine *Adams* righteousnesse in sincerity, hath his sin truly mortified, but that no legalist can have, because true mortification is wrought by the covenant of grace, *Rom.* 6. 14. Sin shall not have dominion over you, for you are not under the Law, but under Grace.

Error 13. That there is a new birth under the covenant of workes, to such a kind of righteousnesse, as before is mentioned, from which the foule must bee againe converted, before it can bee made partaker of Gods Kingdome.

Confutation 13. This is contrary to *Titus* 3. 4. where the new birth is made a fruit of Gods love towards man in Christ; of any new birth besides this, the Scripture speaketh not. It is also contrary to 2 *Cor.* 3. where it is made the worke of the Spirit, (that is, the Gospel) opposed to the letter (that is, the Law) to give life; the new birth brings forth the new creature, and the new creature argueth our being in Christ, 2 *Cor.* 5. 17. It is true indeed Gods children that are borne againe, must be converted againe, as *Mat.* 18. 3. but that conversion is not from that grace which they have received, but from the corruption that still remains.

Error 14. That Christ workes in the regenerate, as in those that are dead, and not as in those that are alive, or, the regenerate after conversion, are altogether dead to spirituall acts.

Confutation 14. This is contrary to *Rom.* 6. 11. Yee are alive unto God, in Jesus Christ, *Ephes.* 2. 1. 5. Hee hath quickned us, 1 *Pet.* 2. 5. Living stones, *Gal.* 2. 20. The life that I now live.

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Error 15. There is no inherent righteoufnesse in the Saints, or grace, and graces are not in the soules of beleev-ers, but in Christ only.

Confutation 15. This is contrary to 2 *Tim.* 1. 5. The unfained faith that dwelt in thee, and dwelt first in thy Grandmother, 2 *Pet.* 1. 4. partakers of the divine nature; which cannot bee, but by inherent righteoufnesse, 2. *Tim.* 1. 6. Stirre up the grace of God which is in thee, *John* 1.

16. Of his fulnesse wee all receive grace for grace: but [4] if there be no grace in us, wee receive nothing from his fulnesse, 2 *Cor.* 4. 16. Our inward man is renewed day by day, *Rom.* 12. 2. with *Ephes.* 4. 23. wee are changed or renewed.

Error 16. There is no difference betweene the graces of hypocrites and beleev-ers, in the kinds of them.

Confutation 16. If this be true, then hypocrites are wise, humble, mercifull, pure, &c. and so shall see God, *Mat.* 5. 8. but they are called fooles, *Mat.* 7. 26. *Mat.* 25. 1, 2, 3. neither shall they see God, *Mat.* 24. 51. *Mat.* 13. 20, 21, 22, 23. *Heb.* 6. 7, 8, 9. the difference of the grounds, argueth the difference in the kinds of graces.

Error 17. True poverty of spirit doth kill and take away the sight of grace.

Confutation 17. This is contrary to *Mark.* 9. 24. Lord, I beleev-er, help my unbelcefe: if this were so, then poverty of spirit should hinder thankfulnessse, and so one grace should hinder another, and the graces of the Spirit should hinder the worke of the Spirit, and crosse the end why hee is given to us, 1 *Cor.* 2. 12.

Error 18. The Spirit doth worke in Hypocrites, by gifts and graces, but in Gods children immediately.

Confutation

Confutation 18. This is contrary to *Nehem.* 5. 15. So did I because of the feare of the Lord: *Heb.* 11. 17. *Noah* moved with feare, prepared an Arke.

Error 19. That all graces, even in the truly regenerate, are mortall and fading.

Confutation 19. This is contrary to *John* 4. 14. they are graces which flow from a fountaine which springeth up to eternall life, and therefore not fading, *Jer.* 31. 39. 40.

Error 20. That to call into question whether God be my deare Father, after or upon the commiffion of some hainous finnes (as Murther, Incest, &c.) doth prove a man to be in the Covenant of workes.

Confutation 20. It being supposed that the doubting here spoken of, is not that of finall despaire, or the like, but onely that the position denyeth a possibility of all doubting to a man under a Covenant of grace, this is contrary to Scripture, which speaketh of Gods people under a Covenant of grace, in these or other cases, exercised with sweete doubtings and questions: *David* was a justified man, (for his finnes were pardoned, 2 *Sam.* 12. 12, 13.) yet his bones waxed old through his roaring all the day long, and the heavinessse of Gods hand was upon him night and day, and the turning of his moysture into the drought of Summer, *Psal.* 32. 3, 4. And Gods breaking his bones by with-holding from him the joy of his Salvation; *Psal.* 51. 8. shew that he was exercised with sweete doubts, and questions at least, as this position speaketh of: and the like may be gathered out of *Psal.* 77. 3, 4. where the holy man *Asaph*, mentioneth himselfe, being troubled when he remembred God, and that he was so troubled, he could not speake nor sleepe, and expostulateth with

with God, will the Lord cast off for ever? and will he [5] be favourable no more? and *vers.* 6, 7, 8, 9. These shew that he had at least sweete doubts, as the position mentioneth, and yet he was not thereby proved to be under a Covenant of workes, for he doth afterward confesse this to bee his infirmity, *vers.* 10. and receiveth the comfört of former experiences, in former dayes, and his songs in the nights, and of Gods former workes, *vers.* 5, 6, 10, 11, 12. and he resumeth his claime of his right in God by vertue of his Covenant, *vers.* 13.

Errour 21. To be justified by faith, is to be justified by workes.

Confutation 21. If faith, in this position be considered not simply as a worke, but in relation to its object, this is contrary to the Scripture, that so appropriateth Justification to faith, as it denieth it to workes, setting faith and workes in opposition one against another in the point of Justification, as *Rom.* 3. 27. Where is boasting then? It is excluded. By what Law? by the Law of workes. no, but by the Law of faith, and *vers.* 28. We conclude, that a man is justified by faith, without the workes of the Law, and *chap.* 4. 16. Therefore it is by faith, that it may be by grace, compared with *vers.* 4. To him that worketh is the reward reckoned not of grace, but of debt.

Errour 22. None are to be exhorted to beleeve, but such whom we know to be the elect of God, or to have his Spirit in them effectually.

Confutation 22. This is contrary to the Scriptures, which maketh the commision which Christ gave his Disciples in these words, Go preach the Gospel to every creature, he that beleeveth and is baptized shall be saved, *Marke* 16. 15. 16. where

where the latter words imply an exhortation to beleeve, and the former words direct that this should not onely be spoken to men knowne to be elected, or onely to men effectually called, but to every creature; The Scripture also telleth us, that the Apostles in all places called upon men to repent, and beleeve the Gospel, which they might not have done, had this position beene true.

Error 23. We must not pray for gifts and graces, but onely for Christ.

Confutation 23. This is contrary to Scripture which teacheth us to pray for wisdome, *Jam.* 1. 5. and for every grace bestowed by vertue of the new Covenant, *Ezech.* 36. 37. as acknowledging every good gift, and every perfect giving is from above, and commeth downe from the Father of lights. The whole 119. Psalme, besides innumerable texts of Scripture, doth abundantly confute this, by shewing that the servants of God have beene taught by the Spirit of God to pray for every gift and grace needfull for them, and not onely for Christ.

Error 24. He that hath the seale of the Spirit may certainly judge of any person, whether he be elected or no.

Confutation 24. This is contrary to *Deut.* 29. 29. Secret things belong to God; and such is election of men not yet called.

Error 25. A man may have all graces and poverty of spirit, and yet want Christ.

Confutation 25. This is contrary to *Matth.* 5. 3. Blessed are the poore in spirit: but without Christ none can be blessed, *Ephes.* 4. 22. 24. he that hath righteousnesse and true holinesse, hath learned the truth, as it is in Jesus, and therefore hath Christ.

Error

[6] *Errour 26.* The faith that justifieth us is in Christ, and never had any actuall being out of Christ.

Confutation 26. This is contrary to Scripture, *Luke 17. 5.* Lord encrease our faith, *Ergo*, faith was in them, *2 Tim. 1. 6.* faith is said to dwell in such and such persons, therefore faith was in them, *Esfay 64. 7.* No man stirres up himselfe to lay hold upon thee.

Errour 27. It is incompatible to the Covenant of grace to joyne faith thereunto.

Confutation 27. This is contrary to *Marke 16. 16.* Preach the Gospel, hee that beleeveth shall be saved, *Rom. 4. 3.* *Abraham* beleevd, and it was counted to him for righteousnesse, and *Abraham* is a patterne to all under the Covenant of gracc, *Rom. 4. 24.*

Errour 28. To affirme there must be faith on mans part to receive the Covenant; is to undermine Christ.

Confutation 28. First, Faith is required on mans part to receive the Covenant of grace, according to these Scriptures, *John 1. 12.* To as many as received him, even to them that beleevd on his name, *Marke 16. 16.* He that beleeveth shall be saved. Secondly, to affirme there must be faith on mans part to receive Christ, is not to undermine Christ, but to exalt him, according to these Scriptures, *John 3. 33.* He that beleeveth hath put to his seale that God is true; and so honours Gods truth, which cannot undermine Christ; *Rom. 4. 20.* but was strong in the faith, giving glory to God, &c.

Errour 29. An hypocrite may have these two witnesses, *1 John 5. 5.* that is to say, the water and bloud.

Confutation 29. No hypocrite can have these two witnesses,

nesses, water and blood, that is, true justification and sanctification, for then he should be saved, according to these Scriptures, *Rom.* 8. 30. *2 Theff.* 2. 13. *Acts* 26. 18.

Errour 30. If any thing may be concluded from the water and blood, it is rather damnation, then salvation.

Confutation 30. This is contrary to the Scriptures last mentioned.

Errour 31. Such as see any grace of God in themselves, before they have the assurance of Gods love sealed to them are not to be received members of Churches.

Confutation 31. This is contrary to *Acts* 8. 37. 38. where the Eunuch saw his faith only, and yet was presently baptized, and therefore by the same ground might be admitted.

Errour 32. After the revelation of the spirit, neither Devill nor sinne can make the soule to doubt.

Confutation 32. This position favours of error, else *Asaph* had not the revelation of the Spirit, seeing he doubted, (*Psal.* 73. 13) whether he had not cleansed his heart in vaine, and that God had forgotten to be gracious; then also faith should be perfect which was never found, no not in our father *Abraham*.

Errour 33. To act by vertue of, or in obedience to a command, is legall.

Confutation 33. So is it also Evangelicall, the mystery [7] of the Gospel is said to be revealed for the obedience of faith, *Rom.* 16. 25. Also the Lord Jesus is said to be the author of salvation to all that obey him, *Hebr.* 5. 9. If we love Christ we are to keep his Commandements, *John* 14. 29.

Errour 34. We are not to pray against all sinne, because the old man is in us, and must be, and why should we pray against that which cannot be avoyded?

Confutation

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Confutation 34. This is contrary to 1 *Thess.* 5, 23. 1 *Cor.* 13. 7.

X | *Errour* 35. The efficacy of Christs death is to kill all activity of graces in his members, that he might act all in all.

X | *Confutation* 35. This is contrary to *Rom.* 6. 4. Our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sinne might be destroyed, that we should not serve sinne: contrary also to *Hebr.* 4. 14. that he might through death destroy him, &c. and 1 *John* 3. 8. whence we infer, that if Christ came to destroy the body of sin, to destroy the Devill, to dissolve the workes of the Devill, then not to kill his owne graces, which are the workes of his owne Spirit.

X | *Errour* 36. All the activity of a beleever is to act to sinne.

X | *Confutation* 36. Contrary to *Rom.* 7. 15. as also to *Gal.* 5. 17. the spirit lusteth against the flesh.

X | *Errour* 37. We are compleatly united to Christ, before, or without any faith wrought in us by the Spirit.

X | *Confutation* 37. The terme [united] being understood of that spirituall relation of men unto Christ, whereby they come to have life and right to all other blessings in Christ, 1 *John* 5. 12. He that hath the Son hath life: And the terme [compleatly] implying a presence of all those bands and ligaments and meanes as are required in the word, or are any wayes necessary to the making up of the union, we now conceive this assertion to be erroneous, contrary to Scripture, that either expressly mentioneth faith when it speaketh of this union, *Ephes.* 3. 17. that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith, *Gal.* 2. 20. Christ liveth in me by faith; or ever implyeth it in those phrascs that doe expresse union; as comming to Christ, *John* 6. 35. and eating

eating and drinking Christ, *vers.* 47 compared with *vers.* 54. having the Sonne, 1 *John* 5. 12. and receiving Christ, *John* 1. 12. and marriage unto Christ, *Ephes.* 5. 32. if there be no dwelling of Christ in us, no comming to him, no receiving him, no eating nor drinking him, no being married to him before and without faith; but the former is true, therefore also the latter. X

Error 38. There can be no true closing with Christ in a promise that hath a qualification or condition expressed.

Confutation 38. This opinion we conceive erroneous, contrary to *Esay* 55. 1, 2. Ho! every one that thirsteth come yee to the waters, *Matth.* 11. 28. Come to me all yee that are weary and heavy laden, *John* 7. 37. If any man thirst, let him come to me and drinke, *Revel.* 22. 17. Let him that is athirst come, *Marke* 1. 15. Repent and beleve the Gospel: if the word indefinitely be sanctified, for the [8] begetting of faith, if the Gospel it selfe be laid downe in a conditionall promise, if the Apostles and Prophets, and Christ himselfe, have laid hold upon such promises to help to union, and closing with himselfe, then there may be a true closing with Christ in a promise that hath a qualification or condition expressed. X

Error 39. The due search and knowledge of the holy Scripture, is not a safe and sure way of searching and finding Christ.

Confutation 39. This is contrary to expresse words of Scripture, *John* 5. 39. Search the Scriptures, for they testifie of me, *Acts* 10. 43. To him give all the Prophets witnesse, *Rom.* 3. 21. the righteoufnesse of God witnessed by the Law and the Prophets, *Isa.* 8. 20. To the Law and to the Testimony

mony, *Acts* 17. 11. The Bereans were more noble, in that they searched the Scriptures daily. If the Prophets give witness to Christ, if his righteousness be witnessed by Law and Prophets, and that they be noble that daily search the Scriptures, and that Christ so farre alloweth their testimony of him, that the Scripture saith, there is no light but in and according to them, then the due searching and knowledge of Scriptures, is a safe way to search Christ; but the former is true, therefore also the latter.

Error 40. There is a testimony of the Spirit, and voice unto the Soule, meere immediate, without any respect unto, or concurrence with the word.

Confutation 40. This immediate revelation without concurrence with the word, doth not onely countenance but confirme that opinion of Enthusiasm, justly refused by all the Churches, as being contrary to the perfection of the Scriptures, and perfection of Gods' wisdom therein: That which is not revealed in the Scripture, (which is *objectum adequatum fidei*) is not to be believed; but that there is any such revelation, without concurrence with the word, is nowhere revealed in the Scripture, *Ergo*. 1 *Cor.* 4. 16. Presume not above that which is written. Again, if there be any immediate Revelation without concurrence of the word, then it cannot be tried by the word, but we are bid to try the spirits. To the law and Testimony, *Esay* 8. 20. to try all things, 1 *Theff.* 5. 21. So the Bereans, *Acts* 17. 11. and the rule of tryall is the word, *Joh.* 5. 39.

Error 41. There be distinct seasons of the workings of the severall Persons, so the soule may be said to be so long under the Fathers, and not the Sons, and so long under the Sons work, and not the Spirits.

Confutation

Confutation 41. This expression is not according to the patterne of wholesome words, which teacheth a joynt concurrence of all the Persons, working in every worke that is wrought, so that wee cannot say, the Father works so long and the Son works not, because the same worke at the same time is common to them both, and to all the three Persons, as the Father drawes, *Joh. 6. 44.* so the Son sends his Spirit to convince, and thereby drawes, *Joh. 16. 7, 8.*

Error 42. There is no assurance true or right, unlesse it bee without feare and doubting.

Confutation 42. This is contrary to Scripture; the [9] penman of *Psal. 77.* had true assurance, *ver. 6.* and yet hee had doubts and feares of Gods eternall mercy, *ver. 7, 8, 9.* The best Faith is imperfect and admits infirmity, *ver. 10.* *1 Cor. 13. 10, 11, 12.* Where there is flesh that doth fight against every grace, and act thereof, and is contrary to it, there can bee no grace perfect, *Ergo,* doubting may stand with assurance, *Gal. 5. 17.*

Error 43. The Spirit acts most in the Saints, when they indeavour least.

Confutation 43. Reserving the speciall seasons of Gods preventing grace to his owne pleasure, In the ordinary constant course of his dispensation, the more wee indeavour, the more assistance and helpe wee find from him, *Prov. 2. 3, 4, 5.* Hee that seeks and digs for wisdom as for treasure shall find it, *Hof. 6. 3. 2 Chron. 15. 2.* The Lord is with you, while you are with him; If by indeavour be meant the use of lawfull meanes and Ordinances commanded by God, to seeke and find him in, then is it contrary to *Mat. 7. 7.* Aske, seeke, knock, &c.

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Error 44. No created worke can bee a manifest signe of Gods love.

Confutation 44. If created workes flowing from union with Christ bee included, it's against *Johns* Epistles, and many Scriptures, which make keeping the Commandements, love to the Brethren, &c. evidences of a good estate, so consequently of Gods love.

Error 45. Nothing but Christ is an evidence of my good estate.

Confutation 45. If here Christ manifesting himselfe in workes of holinesse, bee excluded, and nothing but Christ nakedly revealing himselfe to faith, bee made an evidence, it is against the former Scriptures.

Error 46. It is no sinne in a beleever not to see his grace, except he be wilfully blinde.

Confutation 46. This is contrary to the Scripture, which makes every transgression of the Law sinne, though wilfulnesse be not annexed; and this crosseth the worke of the Spirit which sheweth us the things that are given us of God; *1 Cor.* 2. 12. and crosseth also that command, *2 Cor.* 13. 5. Prove your faith, and therefore we ought to see it.

Error 47. The Seale of the Spirit is limited onely to the immediate witnessse of the Spirit, and doth never witnessse to any worke of grace, or to any conclusion by a Syllogisme.

Confutation 47. This is contrary to *Rom.* 8. 16. to that which our Spirit beares witnessse, to that the Spirit of God beares witnessse, for they beare a joynt witnessse, as the words will have it: but our Spirits beare witnessse to a worke of grace, namely that beleivers are the children of God, *Ergo.*

Error 48. That conditionall promises are legall.

Confutation

Confutation 48. Contrary to *John* 3. 16. *Matthew* 5. 3. &c.

Error 49. We are not bound to keepe a constant course of Prayer in our Families, or privately, unlesse the Spirit stirre us up thereunto.

Confutation 49. This is contrary to *Ephes.* 6. 18. 1 *Thef.* 5. 17.

Error 50. It is poverty of spirit, when wee have [10] grace, yet to see wee have no grace in our selves.

Confutation 50. The weake beleever *Mark.* 9. 24. was poore in spirit, yet saw his own Faith weak though it were. *Peter* when hee was brought to poverty of spirit by the bitter experience of his pride, hee saw the true love hee had unto Christ, and appealed to him therein, *Joh.* 21. 15. *Paul* was lesse then the least of all Saints in his owne eyes, therefore poore in spirit, yet saw the grace of God, by which hee was that he was, and did what hee did, and was truly nothing in his own eyes, when hee had spoken of the best things hee had received and done, *Ephes.* 3. 18. If it bee poverty of the spirit to see no grace in our selves, then should poverty of spirit crosse the office of the Spirit, which is to reveale unto us, and make us to see what God gives us, 1 *Cor.* 2. 9. 10, 11, 12. then it should make us sinne, or crosse the will of God, which is, that wee should not bee ignorant of the gracious workings of Christ in us from the power of his death and resurrection, *Rom.* 6. 3. Know yee not, &c. then would it destroy a great duty of Christian thankfulness, in, and for all the good things which God vouchsafeth us, 1 *Thef.* 5. 18.

Error 51. The soule need not to goe out to Christ for fresh supply, but it is acted by the Spirit inhabiting.

Confutation 51. Though wee have the Spirit acting and inhabiting

inhabiting us, this hinders not, but I may and need goe out to Christ for fresh supply of Grace, *Joh.* 1. 16. Of whose fullness we have all received, and grace for grace; *2 Cor.* 12. 8. *Paul* sought thrice to Christ for fresh supply; *Heb.* 12. 2. Looke unto Christ the Authour and finisher of our faith.

Wee must looke up to the hills from whence commeth our helpe, *Ephes.* 4. 16. by whom all the body receiveth increase, and to the edifying of it self.

Error 52. It is legal to say, wee act in the strength of Christ.

Confutation 52. This is contrary to the Scriptures, the Gospel bids us bee strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might, *Ephes.* 6. 10 and bee strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus, *2 Tim.* 2. 1. and *Paul* saith, I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me, *Phil.* 4. 13. and that was not legall strength.

Error 53. No Minister can teach one that is anoynted by the Spirit of Christ, more then hee knowes already unlesse it be in some circumstances.

Confutation 53. This is also contrary to Scripture, *2 Cor.* 1. It is God that stablisheth us with you, &c. *Ephes.* 1. 13. and 4. 12. 14. The *Corinthians* and *Ephesians*, were anoynted and sealed, and yet were taught more of *Paul* in his Epistles then only in some circumstances.

Error 54. No Minister can bee an instrument to convey more of Christ unto another, then hee by his own experience hath come unto.

Confutation 54. This is contrary to *Ephes.* 4. 11, 12. the weakest Minister may edify the strongest Christian which hath more experience then himselfe.

Error

Error 55. A man may have true Faith of depend- [11]
ance, and yet not bee justified.

Confutation 55. This is contrary to the Scripture, *Acts* 13. 39. All believers are justified, but they that have true faith of dependance are believers, therefore justified.

Error 56. A man is not effectually converted till hee hath full assurance.

Confutation 56. This is crosse to the Scripture, *Isa.* 5. 10. wherein wee see that a man may truly feare God (therefore truly converted) and yet walke in darknesse, without cleare evidence or full assurance.

Error 57. To take delight in the holy service of God, is to go a whoring from God.

Confutation 57. No Scripture commands us to go a whoring from God, but first, the Scripture commands us to delight in the service of God, *Psal.* 100. 2. Serve the Lord with gladnesse, *Isa.* 58. 13. Thou shalt call the Sabbath thy delight, *Ergo.* Secondly, God loves not such as go a whoring from him, *Psal.* 73. *ult.* but God loves a cheerful server of God, *2 Cor.* 8. Therefore, such as serve him cheerfully, do not thereby go a whoring from him.

Error 58. To help my faith, and comfort my conscience in evill houres, from former experience of Gods grace in mee, is not a way of grace.

Confutation 58. What the Saints have done and found true comfort in, that is a way of grace; but they did help their faith, and comfort their conscience from former evidences of Gods grace in them: *Psal.* 77. 5, 6, 11. I considered the dayes of old, and called to remembrance my songs in the night; and by this raised hee up his faith, as the latter part

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of the *Pſalm* ſheweth; and this was in evil houres, *ver.* 2, 3. 2 *Cor.* 1. 12. This is our rejoycing, that in ſimplicity and godly pureneſſe, wee have had our converſation, and this was in ſad houres, *ver.* 4, 5, 8, 9, 10. *Job* 35. 10. None ſaith, Where is God that made mee, which giveth ſongs in the night? here the not attending to former conſolation, is counted a ſinful neglect.

Error 59. A man may not bee exhorted to any duty, becauſe hee hath no power to do it.

Confutation 59. This is contrary to *Phil.* 2. 12, 13. Work out your ſalvation &c. For it is God that worketh in you both the will and the deed, *Ephes.* 5. 14. Awake thou that ſleepeſt, ſo 1 *Cor.* 15. *ult.*

Error 60. A man may not prove his election by his vocation, but his vocation by his election.

Confutation 60. This is contrary to 1 *Theſſ.* 2. 4. knowing your election, becauſe our Goſpel came unto you, not in word only, but in power, 2 *Theſſ.* 2. 13, 14. God hath elected you to life, through ſanctification of the Spirit, whereunto hee hath called you by our Goſpel.

Error 61. All Doctrines, Revelations and Spirits, muſt be tried by Chriſt the word, rather then by the Word of Chriſt.

Confutation 61. This aſſertion of it intends to exclude the word, we conceive it contrary to *Eſay* 8. 20. *John* 5. 39. *Acts* 17. 11. alſo to 2 *John* 4. 1, 2. Trye the ſpirits, every ſpirit that confeſſeth that Jeſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, [12] &c. where Spirits and Doctrines confeſſing that Chriſt is come in the fleſh, are made diſtinct from Chriſt.

Error 62. It is a dangerous thing to cloſe with Chriſt in a promiſe.

Confutation

Confutation 62. This is contrary to *Joh. 3. 16. Act. 10. 43. Isa. 55. 1, 2. Matth. 11. 28. Joh. 7. 37.* If Christ in these places invite men to come unto him, and bids them incline and hearken, and tells them their Soules shall live, and they shall drinke and be refreshed by hm, and by these promises encourageth them to close with him, then it is no dangerous thing to close with him in a promise, it is no danger to obey a Command of God: but we are commanded to beleieve the Gospell, *Mar. 1. 15, 1.* the promise being a part of the Gospell.

Error 63. No better is the evidence from the two witnesses of water and blood, mentioned 1 *John. 5. 6, 7, 8.* then mount *Calvary*, and the Souldiers that shed Christs blood, and these might have drunke of it; poore evidences.

Confutation 63. Then what God hath ordained or made an evidence, is no better then what he hath not made, then Christ loseth his end in comming by water and blood, *vers. 6.* then the Spirit should agree no better with the witnessse of water and blood, then it doth with Mount *Calvary*, and the Souldiers: but the Spirit doth agree with the water and the blood, and not with the other, 1 *Joh. 5. 7.* These three agree in one.

Error 64. A man must take no notice of his sinne, nor of his repentance for his sinne.

Confutation 64. This is contrary to *David*, whose sinnes were ever before him, *Psal. 51.* hee considered his wayes (and the evill of them) that he might turne his feete to Gods Testimonies, *Psal. 119. 59.* If we confesse our sinnes, he is faithfull and just, &c. If we say we have not sinned we make him a liar, 1 *Joh. 1. 8, 9, 10.* *Job* tooke notice of sinne and of his repentance, I abhorre my selfe and repent in dust and ashes,

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ashes, *Job* 42 6. *David* seeth, and faith, I am sorry for my finnes, *Psal.* 38 28. *Solomons* penitent must know the Plague in his heart, that is, his sinne and the punishment thereof, *1 Kings* 8 38.

Error 65. The Church in admitting members is not to looke to holinesse of life, or Testimony of the same.

Confutation 65. This is contrary to *Rom.* 1. 7. and the inscriptions of divers Epistles, being directed to Saints, and Saints by calling, and *1 Cor.* 14 33. Churches of the Saints, *Acts* 2. the members there, were said to repent before they were admitted, and *1 Cor.* 5. the incestuous person should not then have beene cast out for want of holinesse, and *Paul* could not be received into communion without Testimony, *Acts* 9. 26.

Error 66. To lay the brethren under a Covenant of works, hurts not, but tends to much good to make men looke the better to their evidences.

Confutation 66. If that bee done ungroundedly, it is contrary to *Isa.* 5. 20. where woe is pronounced to such as [13] call good evill, &c. and *Ezek.* 13. 22. that make such hearts sad, as the Lord would not have fadded; and it is against the rule of the Covenant, *1 Cor.* 13. besides, it may trench upon the devils office in accusing the Brethren, and then it will be good to tell untruth, good to breake house and Church Communion, then good to break nearest relations, then good to bite one another, and good to offend the little ones, *Matth.* 18.

Errour 67. A man cannot evidence his justification by his sanctification, but he must needs build upon his sanctification, and trust to it.

Confutation

Confutation 67. First, this is contrary to 1 *John* 3. 18, 19. where the holy Ghost saith, that by unfained and hearty love we may have assurance, and yet neither there nor any where else would have us trust to our sanctification, so *vers.* 7. He that doth righteoufnesse is righteous, as he is righteous. Secondly, if poverty of spirit, which emptieth us of all confidence in our selves, may evidence a mans justification without trusting to it, then may sanctification without trusting to it; but the former is true, therefore also the latter. Thirdly, if it be an ordinance of God to evidence our justification by our sanctification, then we may doe this without trusting to it: but that is apparent from, 2 *Pet.* 1. 10. *Ergo.*

Error 68. Faith justifies an unbeleever, that is, that faith that is in Christ, justifieth me that have no faith in my selfe.

Confutation 68. This is contrary to *Hab.* 2. 4. For if the just shall live by his faith, then that faith that justifies is not in Christ. So *John* 3. *ult.* He that beleeveth not, the wrath of God abideth on him: it is not anothers faith will save me.

Error 69. Though a man can prove a gracious worke in himselfe, and Christ to be the authour of it, if thereby he will prove Christ to be his, this is but a sandy foundation.

Confutation 69. This is contrary to these Scriptures, *John* 14. 21. and 28. He that keepeth my commandements, is he that loveth me, and he that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will shew my selfe unto him, 1 *John* 3. 14. We know that we have passed from death to life, because we love the brethren, and 1 *John* 5. 12. He that hath the Sonne hath life: therefore he that can prove that he hath spirituall life, may assure himselfe that hee hath Christ.

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Errour 70. Frequency or length of holy duties or trouble of conscience for neglect thereof, are all signes of one under a Covenant of workes.

Consulation 70. This is contrary to these Scriptures, 1 *Cor.* 15. 58. Be abundant alwayes in the worke of the Lord: if the faithfull in Christ Jesus be commanded to abound alwayes in the worke of the Lord, that is, holy duties, then frequency in holy duties is no signe of one under a Covenant of workes: but the former is true, therefore also the latter; as also 1 *Thes.* 4. 17. 18. *Psal.* 55. 17. Evening and morning and noone will I pray and make a noyse, and he will heare me; and elswhere, Seven times a day doe I praise thee, *Psal.*

119. 146. *Psal.* 1. 2. So also contrary is the third [14] branch to these Scriptures, 2 *Cor.* 7. 8. 11. the Corinthians were troubled in conscience, and sorrowed that they had neglected the holy duties of Church censure towards the incestuous person, and *Isa.* 64. 7. and 8. *Cant.* 5. 2. *Rom.* 7. 19. I doe not the good I would, which he lamenteth and complaineth of.

Errour 71. The immediate revelation of my good estate, without any respect to the Scriptures, is as cleare to me, as the voyce of God from Heaven to *Paul.*

Consulation 71. This is contrary to *John* 14. 26. He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, &c. whence we reason thus. If the Spirit reveale nothing without concurrence of the Word, then this revelation of the Spirit without respect to the Word is not cleare, nor to be trusted: but the Spirit doth reveale nothing, but with respect to the Word, for *John* 14. 26. If the office of the Spirit be to teach and to bring to remembrance the things that Christ hath taught us, *Esay* 8. 20. what ever
spirit

spirit speaks not according to this Word, there is no light there.

Errour 72. It is a fundamentall and soule-damning error to make sanctification an evidence of justification.

Confutation 72. This is contrary to these Scriptures, *Rom. 8. 1.* They that walke after the Spirit, are freed from condemnation, and are in Christ, and so justified: so *1 John 3. 10.* In this are the children of God knowne, &c.

Errour 73. Christs worke of grace can no more distinguish betweene a Hypocrite and a Saint, then the raine that falls from Heaven betweene the just and the unjust.

Confutation 73. This proposition being generall includes all gracious works, and being so taken is contradicted in the parable of the sower, *Matth. 13. 20. 21, 22.* where the good ground is distinguished from the stony by this, that it brings forth fruit with patience, so *Hebr. 6. 9.* there is something better in the Saints then those common gifts which are found in Hypocrites.

Errour 74. All verball Covenants, or Covenants expressed in words, as Church Couenants, voves, &c. are Covenants of workes, and such as strike men off from Christ.

Confutation 74. First, this is contrary to Scripture, *Esay 44 5.* One shall say, I am the Lords, another shall call himselve by the name of the God of *Jacob: Rom. 10. 10.* With the mouth confession is made to salvation. Secondly, contrary to reason, for then the Covenant of grace is made a Covenant of workes, by the writing, reading, and preaching of the same, for they are verball expressions of the Covenant on Gods part, as Church Covenants verbally expresse our closing herewith.

Errour

Errour 75. The Spirit giveth such full and cleare evidence of my good estate, that I have no need to be tried by the fruits of sanctification, this were to light a candle to the Sun.

Confutation 75. This opinion taken in this sense, that after the Spirit hath testified a mans good estate, the [15] person need not to be tried by the fruit of sanctification, is contrary to the scope of the whole first Epistle of Saint *John*, where variety of arguments are propounded to all beleevers in common, 1 *John* 5. 13. to distinguish the persons of beleevers from unbelievers; the water is annexed to the Spirit and blood, 1 *John* 5. 8.

Errour 76. The Devill and nature may be cause of a gracious worke.

Confutation 76. The words are unfavoury, and the position unfound, for taking [gracious] according to the language of the Scripture, gracious words, *Luke* 4. 22. Let your speech be gracious, gracious words are such as issue from the saving grace of Christs Spirit indwelling in the soule, which neither the Devill, nor nature is able to produce, for Christ professeth, *John* 15. 3, 4. Without me yee can doe nothing, nothing truly gracious, *John* 3. What ever is borne of the flesh is flesh, and *Rom.* 7. 18. In my flesh dwels no good, (truly spirituall and gracious) *Gen.* 6. 5. Every imagination of the thoughts of a mans heart, are evil, and that continually; Besides, the Devill is that evil and wicked one, onely wickednesse, an adversary to Gods grace and glory, that which is contrary to corrupt nature, and the hellish nature of Satan, and above the power of both, they cannot be the causes of gracious works.

Errour

Errour 77. Sanctification is so farre from evidencing a good estate that it darkens it rather, and a man may more clearly see Christ, when he seeth no sanctification then when he doth, the darker my sanctification is, the brighter is my justification.

Confutation 77. This is contrary to the Scripture of truth, which rather giveth the name of light to sanctification and holinesse, and even for this use, to cleare our justification, 1 *Iohn* 1. 6, 7. For the holy Ghost concludes as from a cleare and infallible promise, and proposition, that if we walke in the light, as he is in the light, then doth the blood of Christ cleanse us from all sinne; meaning, that then and thereby it appeareth that it is done: as by the contrary unholinesse, and unholy walking is like darknesse, which obscurereth all the goodly presumption flourishes and hopes of an unregenerate man, *vers.* 6. For this purpose, 1 *Iohn* 5. 8. the water of sanctification is made a witnesse, now the nature of a witnesse is not to darken and obscure matters in question, but to cleare them, and *Psal.* 51. 10, 11, 12. when *David* saw his heart so uncleane, and his spirit so altogether out of order, his justification was not then brighter, for then he should have had the joy of his salvation more full, and not so to sinke as that he begs it might be restored to him, as implying, that his joy for the present was wanting to him.

Errour 78. God hath given sixe witnesses, three in Heaven and three in earth, to beget and build justifying faith upon.

Confutation 78. This expression answers not the patterne of wholesome words, for if this position be taken thus, God hath given all these sixe witnesses both to beget and also to

build justifying faith upon, it is contrary to Scripture, for God hath not given all these six witnesses to beget justifying faith, because the water of sanctification, which is one of the [16] six, doth not goe before justifying faith, but followeth after it: for our hearts are justified by faith, *Acts* 15. 9.

Error 79. If a member of a Church be unsatisfied with any thing in the Church, if he expresse his offence, whether he hath used all meanes to convince the Church or no, he may depart.

Confutation 79. Contrary to the rule of our Saviour, *Matth.* 18. If thy brother offend (convictingly) admonish; whence it is evident, that in our carriage towards a private brother we must convince him, before admonish him, much lesse separate from him. Therefore our carriage towards the whole Church must upon greater reason be with like prudence, and tenderesse; whence the argument followes thus. An offence taken before conviction will not beare an admonition, much lesse separation from a brother or Church: but the offence in the question propounded is such, *Ergo.*

Error 80. If a man thinke he may edifie better in another congregation then in his owne, that is ground enough to depart ordinarily, from word, seales, fastings, feastings, and all administrations in his owne Church, notwithstanding the offence of the Church, often manifested to him for so doing.

Confutation 80. It is contrary to the condition and station of a member of the body in which he stands, *1 Cor.* 12. 27. A member must not put it selfe from the body upon its owne thoughts; as the admission of a member was by the consent of the whole, so likewise must his dismissal be. It is contrary also to the duty of a member, *Ephes.* 4. 16. there must be an effectuall

effectuall working in every part for the edification of the whole which this departure from the administration of all the holy ordinances in the Church will necessarily hinder. It is contrary also to the good of the whole Church, and the rule which the Lord hath appointed for the preservation thereof, *1 Cor.* 14. 33. God is not the author of confusion, and therefore not of this practise which will certainly bring it, for if one member upon these his imaginations may depart, why may not ten, yea twenty, yea an hundred? Why may not the Pastor upon such grounds leave his people, as well as they him, considering the tye is equall on both parts?

Error 81. Where faith is held forth by the Ministry, as the condition of the covenant of grace on mans part, as also evidencing justification by sanctification, and the activity of faith, in that Church there is not sufficient bread.

Confutation 81. This position seemeth to deny faith to be a condition at all, or at all active, and so if condition in this place signifie a qualification in man wrought by the holy Ghost, without which the promises doe not belong to men, this is contrary to Scripture, for *John* 6. 48. Christ is the bread of life, and yet in the same chapter faith is held out as a condition of the covenant by the Ministry of Christ himselfe; and the activity of it is held forth in these words, Verily I say unto you, unlesse yee eate the flesh, and drinke the bloud of the Sonne of man, you have no life in you, and who so eateth, &c. As for the lawfulness of evidencing justification by sanctification (if it be understood of that [17] sanctification which is by faith in Christ) it is contrary to the intent of the whole Epistle of *John*, besides many other places

places of Scripture which yet hold forth bread sufficient (if by sufficient is meant that doctrine, which in its right use is wholesome and good food) for it was written that their joy might be full; yet the evidencing of justification by sanctification is expressly held forth *chap. 1. vers. 7.* where he saith, If we walke in the light, as Christ is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sinne; by walking in the light, in opposition to walking in darknesse spoken of before, *verse 6.* Sanctification is evidently meant, and this is expressly noted to be an evidence of our good condition, when it is said, if we so walke, the blood of Christ cleanseth us from all sinne.

Error 82. A Minister must not pray nor preach against any error, unlesse he declare in the open Congregation, upon any members enquiry, the names of them that hold them.

Confutation 82. This is contrary to Scriptures, which teach Ministers to pray and preach against all errors by whom soever they be held, when it calleth them Watchmen and Stewards, in whom faithfulness is required in all administrations: yet withall it enjoyneth them if a brother sinne not openly, to admonish him in secret, first betweene them two alone, and afterwards in the presence of two or three witnesses, and after that (and not before) to bring the matter to the Church, *Matth. 18. 15, 16, 17.*

Vnfavoury

Unfavoury speeches confuted.

These that follow were judged by the Assembly aforesaid, as unsafe speeches.

1. **T**O say that we are justified by faith is an unsafe speech, X
we must say we are justified by Christ.

Answer 1. False, for the constant language of the Scripture is not unsafe; but we are justified by faith, is the constant language of the Scripture, *Rom.* 5. 1. being justified by faith; the righteousnesse of faith, *Rom.* 10. 31, 32. Righteousnesse by faith, *Phil.* 3. 9, 10. X

2. The distinct phrase of the Scripture used in distinguishing Legall and Evangelicall righteousnesse is no unsafe speech, but such is this, *Rom.* 9. 31, 32. *Israel* found not righteousnesse, because they sought it of the Law, and not of, or by faith, so *Rom.* 10. 5, 6. The righteousnesse of faith, faith thus, &c. The Apostle makes these two so directly opposite, as *membra dividenda*, or contrary species, that there is no danger one should be taken for another, but that it's so safe, as that he that affirms the one denies the other: yea in the most exact expression that ever *Paul* made, to exclude whatsoever might be unsafe towards a mans justification, [18] you have this phrase, yea twice in the same verse, *Phil.* 3. 9. not having mine owne righteousnesse, which is of the Law, but that which is through the faith of Christ; And againe, The righteousnesse which is of God by faith (*ἐν τῇ πίστει*) *Ergo*, it is no unsafe speech, yea it must be said on the contrary from those grounds, that to say a man is justified X

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fied before faith, or without faith is unsafe, as contrary to the language of the Scriptures.

X And for the second part, that we must say, we are justified by Christ, it is true so farre, as that it cannot be denyed, nor is it unsound or unsafe at all so to speake, but if it meane a must of necessity alwayes, or onely so to speake as it is here set in opposition to the phrase of being justified by faith, then it is utterly false, for as much as the Scripture leades us along in the way of other expressions ordinarily, and the Apostle gives us the truth of doctrine and soundnesse of phrase together, *Rom. 10. 3.* Christ is the end of the Law for righteousnesse to every one that beleeveth.

X 2. *To evidence justification by sanctification, or graces, favours of Rome.*

X *Answer.* Not so. 1. *Rome* acknowledgeth not justification in our common sense, *Scil.* by righteousnesse imputed.

X 2. *Rome* demies evidencing of our justification and peace with God, and teacheth a doctrine of doubting, and professeth that a man cannot know what God will doe with him for life or death, unlesse by speciall revelation, which is not ordinary. But if they meane old *Rome*, or *Pauls Rome*, to which he wrote, it's true, that it favours of the doctrine that they received, as appeareth, *Rom. 8. 28.* All things co-worke

X for good (the evill of every evill being taken away, which is a point of justification, and this is propounded under the evidence of the love of God) to them that love him, because *Rom. 8. 2. 9. 13. 14.* the evidencing of our being in Christ, freedome from condemnation, and adoption is prosecuted by arguments from sanctification, as by having the spirit, being led by the spirit, walking after the spirit, mortifying the deeds

deeds of the flesh by the spirit: and if hereto were added the doctrine of Saint *John* so abundant this way in his first Epistle (whereof I have already made mention) I doubt not, but it was the faith of the Church of *Rome* that then was, so that the speech is unfavoury, and casting a foule asperision upon a good thing expressed in the Scriptures, but as for the point it selfe, that is included, we referre it to its place, to be discussed, when it is rightly stated.

3. *If I be holy I am never the better accepted of God, if I be unholy I am never the worse, this I am sure of, he that hath elected me must save me.* X

Answ. These words favour very ill, and relish of a carelesse and ungracious spirit, for howsoever we grant that our acceptance unto justification is alwayes in and through Christ the same in Gods account, yet this expression imports, that though a mans conversation be never so holy and gracious, yet hee can expect never the more manifestation of Gods kindnesse and love to him, contrary to *Psal.* 50. ult. To him that orders his conversation aright I will shew the salvation of God, and *John* 14. 21. It implies secondly, that though a mans conversation be never so vile and sensuall, yet [19] X he neede not feare nor expect any further expression of Gods displeasure and anger to breake forth against him, or withdrawings of his favour from him, contrary to *Psal.* 51. 8. 11; 12. where God breakes *Davids* bones for his sinne, and *Jonah* 2. 4. *Jonah* was as one cast out of Gods presence, and 2 *Chron.* 15. 2. If you forsake him hee will forsake you: And in a word it imports, as if God neither loved righteoufnesse, nor hated wickednesse, contrary to *Psal.* 45. 6. 7. and did take no delight in the obedience of his people, contrary to

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to *Pfal.* 147. 11. The Lord delighteth in those that feare him, &c. As concerning the last clause, he that hath elected me must save me: it is true, the foundation of Gods election remaineth sure, yet it is as true, that whom he chooseth, he purposeth to bring to Salvation, through sanctification of the Spirit, 2 *Thef.* 2. 13.

4. *If Christ will let me sinne, let him look to it, upon his honour be it.*

Answ. This retorts the Lords words upon himsele, *Prov* 4. 23, 24 Keepe thine heart, &c. Ponder thy paths, &c. and therefore no lesse blasphemous, and is contrary to the professed practise of *David*, *Pfal.* 18 23. I was upright before him, and kept my selfe from mine iniquity: The latter clause puts the cause of Gods dishonour upon himsele, no lesse blasphemous then the former, and contrary to *Rom.* 2. 23. where the dishonouring of God is laid upon themselves. —

5. *Here is a great stirre about graces and looking to hearts, but give me Christ, I seeke not for graces, but for Christ, I seeke not for promises, but for Christ, I seeke not for sanctification, but for Christ, tell not me of meditation and duties, but tell me of Christ.*

Answ. 1. This speech seemeth to make a flat opposition betweene Christ and his graces, contrary to that in *Joh.* 1. 16. Of his fulnesse we all received, and grace for grace; and betweene Christ and his promises, contrary to *Gal.* 3. 13, 14; Christ was made a curse that wee might receive the promise of the Spirit, and *Luke* 1. 70. with 74. And betwixt Christ and all holy duties, contrary to *Tit.* 2. 14. and therefore hold forth expressions not agreeing to wholesome doctrine.

6. *A living faith, that hath living fruits, may grow from the living Law.* • *Answ.*

Answ. This whole speech is utterly crosse to the sound forme of words required, *2 Tim.* 1. 13. Hold fast the forme of sound words. 1. That a Hypocrite may have a living Law, is contrary to *James* 2. 17. where the hypocrites faith is called a dead faith. 2. That a hypocrite may bring forth living fruite, is contrary to that, *Heb.* 9. 14. 3. That all this growes from a living law, contrary to *2 Cor.* 3. 6. where the law is called a killing letter, and to *Gal.* 3. 21. If there had beene a law which could have given life, &c.

7. *I may know I am Christs, not because I doe crucifie the lusts of the flesh, but because I doe not crucifie them, but beleeve in Christ that crucified my lusts for me.* X

Answ. 1. The phraze is contrary to the Scripture language, *Gal.* 5. 24. They that are Christs, have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts. 2. It favours [20] of the flesh, for these three things may seeme to be expressed in it. 1. If Scripture makes not opposite, but subordinate, *Rom.* 8. 13. I through the Spirit crucifie the flesh. 2. That if I doe not crucifie my lusts, then there is an open and free way of looking to Christ, contrary to the Scripture, *Mat.* 5. 8. Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God, both in boldnesse of faith here, and fruition hereafter, *2 Tim.* 2. 19. Let every one that names the Lord Jesus, depart from iniquity. 3. That beleeving in Christ, may ease me from endeavouring to crucifie my lusts in my owne person; which is so grosse, that it needes no more confutation then to name it. 4. The safe sense that may be possibly intended in such a speech is this, If I crucifie the flesh in my own strength, it is no safe evidence of my being in Christ, but if renouncing my selfe, I crucifie the flesh in the strength of Christ, applying X

applying his death by faith, it is a safe evidence of my being in Christ: but this sense conveyed in these words, is to convey wholesome doctrine in an unwholesome Channel, and a darkening and losing the truth in an unfavourable expression.

8. Peter *more leaned to a Covenant of works than Paul.*
 Pauls doctrine was more for free grace than Peters.

Answ. To oppose these persons and the doctrine of these two Apostles of Christ, who were guided by one and the same Spirit in preaching and penning thereof, (*2 Pet.* 1. 21. Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the holy Ghost, *2 Tim.* 3. 16. All Scripture is given by inspiration of God) in such a point as the Covenant of works and grace, is little less than blasphemy.

9. *If Christ be my Sanctification, what neede I looke to any thing in my selfe, to evidence my justification?*

Answ. This position is therefore unsound, because it holds forth Christ to be my sanctification, so as that I neede not looke to any inherent holinesse in my selfe; whereas Christ is therefore said to be our sanctification, because he workes sanctification in us, and we daily ought to grow up in him, by receiving new supply and increase of grace from his fulnesse, according to *2 Pet.* 3. 18. Grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.¹

The

¹ "For some account of this Synod, see *Winthrop*, Vol. I. pp. *237 and *240; *Cotton's Way Cleared*, pp. 39-41 *et seq.* The Assembly broke up September 22. This account in the *Short*

Story must have been written at the time, probably by some minister." — DEANE, *MS. note.* *Vide*, also, Cotton Mather's chapter *Hydra Decapitata* in the *Magnalia* (B. VII. chap. III.).



The proceedings of the Generall Court holden at *New Towne in the Massachusetts in New England, Octob.¹ 2. 1637.*
Against Mr. *Wheelwright* and other erroneous and
seditious persons for their disturbances of the
publick peace.²



Although the Assembly of the Churches had confuted and condemned most of those new opinions which were sprung up amongst us, and Mr. *Cotton*³ had in publique view consented with the rest, yet the leaders in those erroneous wayes would not give in, but stood still to maintain their new light, which they had boasted of, and

¹ This is an error, due, probably, to the carelessness of the person who supervised the press when the *Short Story* was published. The session of the Court here referred to was held in November.

² "This document, pp. 21 and 43 inclusive [37-00 of this edition], and probably from p. 59, fourth line [00-000], to the end, should properly come last, in the order of the three official or semi-official papers, being an account of the proceeding of the *General Court*, which convened at Cambridge November 2, 1637, at which *Wheelwright*, *Mrs. Hutchinson*, and others of their friends were sentenced to banishment. This

paper might properly be called also an 'Apology,' as it not only gives the *proceedings* of the court, but is also a *justification* of those proceedings. It agrees with *Winthrop's* description of it. He says (Vol. I. pp. * 297, * 298): 'All the proceedings of this court against these persons were set down at large, *with the reasons and other observations*, and were sent into England to be published there, to the end that all our godly friends might not be discouraged from coming to us, etc.' This paper, I think, was written by *Winthrop*." — DEANE, *M.S. note*.

³ The Rev. John Cotton was born in Derby, England, December 4, 1585, arrived

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and that the difference was still as wide as before, *viz.* as great as between heaven and hell: Mr. *Wheelwright*¹ also continued his preaching after his former manner, and Mistris *Hutchison* her wonted meetings and exercises, and much offence was still given by her, and others in going out of the ordinary assemblies, when Mr *Wil*² began any exercise; and some of the messengers of the Church of *Boston*, had contemptuously withdrawn themselves from the general Assembly, with professed dislike of their proceedings, and many evidences brake forth of their discontented and turbulent spirits; it was conceived by the Magistrates, and others of the Country, that the means which had been used, proving uneffectually, the case was now desperate, and the last remedy was to be applied, and that without further delay, lest it should be attempted too late, when fitter opportunity might be offered for their advantage, as they had boasted, and did certainly

arrived in Boston September 4, 1633, and died there December 23, 1652. Full accounts of Cotton and his writings will be found in the *Magnalia* (B. III. P. I. chap. i.), and in Eliot and Allen's dictionaries. All the biographical cyclopedias contain notices of him. See also Prof. Enoch Pond's annotated edition of Norton's *Life and Death of John Cotton*, published in London in 1648; and the Rev. A. W. McClure's biography, written for the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, and published in 1836 as the first in the series of *Lives of the Chief Fathers of New England*.

¹ The Rev. John Wheelwright was born in England, probably in 1592, arrived in Boston May 26, 1636, and died in *Salisbury, Mass.*, November 15, 1679.

Full accounts of his life and connection with the events recorded in the *Short Story* are to be found in C. H. Bell's memoir, prefixed to the *John Wheelwright* in the Prince Society Publications, and in the second of Adams's *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*.

² The Rev. John Wilson was born in Windsor, England, in 1588, and arrived in America with Governor Winthrop in 1630; he died August 7, 1667. Full accounts of his life are contained in the *Magnalia* (B. III. P. I. chap. iii.), in the various biographical dictionaries and cyclopedias, and in Ellis's *History of the First Church of Boston*. There is a highly characteristic detailed notice of him in Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary* (Vol. IV. pp. 583-584).

certainly expect upon the returne of some of their chiefe supporters, who by a speciall providence were now absent from them: And for this end the generall Court being assembled in the ordinary course, it was determined to begin with these troublers of our peace, and to suppress them by the civill authority, whereunto there was a faire occasion offered upon a seditious writing, which had been delivered into the Court in *March*, when Mr. *Wheel.* was convict of sedition, &c. under the hands of more than three-score of them, and intitled *A Remonstrance or Petition*, the Contents whereof were as followeth: X

Wee whose names are under written (have diligently observed this honoured Courts proceedings against our deare and reverend brother in Christ, Mr. *Wheel.* now under censure of the Court, for the truth of Christ) wee do humbly beseech this honourable Court to accept this Remonstrance and Petition of ours, in all due submission tendred to your Worships. X

For first, whereas our beloved Brother Mr. *Wheel.* is censured for contempt, by the greater part of this honoured Court, wee desire your Worships to consider the sincere intention of our Brother to promote your end in the [22] day of Fast, for whereas wee do perceive your principal intention the day of Fast looked chiefly at the publick peace of the Churches, our Reverend Brother did to his best strength, and as the Lord assisted him, labour to promote your end, and therefore indeavoured to draw us neerer unto Christ, the head of our union, that so wee might bee established in peace, which wee conceive to bee the true way, sanctified of God, to obtaine your end, and therefore deserves no such censure as wee conceive. X

Secondly,

Secondly, Whereas our deare Brother is censured of sedition; wee beseech your Worships to consider, that either the person condemned must bee culpable of some seditious fact, or his doctrine must bee seditious, or must breed sedition in the hearts of his hearers or else wee know not upon what grounds hee should bee censured. Now to the first, wee have not heard any that have witnessed against our brother for any seditious fact. Secondly, neither was the doctrine it selfe, being no other but the very expressions of the Holy Ghost himselfe, and therefore cannot justly be branded with sedition. Thirdly, if you look at the effects of his Doctrine upon the hearers, it hath not stirred up sedition in us, not so much as by accident; wee have not drawn the sword, as sometimes *Peter* did, rashly, neither have wee rescued our innocent Brother, as sometimes the *Israelites* did *Jonathan*, and yet they did not seditiously. The Covenant of free Grace held forth by our Brother, hath taught us rather to become humble suppliants to your Worships, and if wee should not prevaile, wee would rather with patience give our checkes to the smiters. Since therefore the Teacher, the Doctrine, and the hearers bee most free from sedition (as wee conceive) wee humbly beseech you in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, your Judge and ours, and for the honour of this Court, and the proceedings thereof, that you will bee pleased either to make it appeare to us, and to all the world, to whom the knowledge of all these things will come, wherein the sedition lies, or else acquit our Brother of such a censure.

Further, wee beseech you remember the old method of Satan, the ancient enemy of Free Grace, in all ages of the Churches, who hath raised up such calumnies against the
faithfull

faithfull Prophets of God, *Eliak* was called the troubler of *Ifrach*, 1 *King*. 18. 17, 18. *Amos* was charged for conspiracy, *Amos* 7. 10. *Paul* was counted a pestilent fellow, or moover of sedition, and a ring-leader of a Sect, *Acts* 24. 5. and *Christ* himfelse, as well as *Paul*, was charged to bee a Teacher of New Doctrine, *Mark*. 1. 27. *Acts* 17 19. Now wee beseech you consider, whether that old serpent work not after his old method, even in our daies. X

Further, wee beseech you consider the danger of meddling against the Prophets of God, *Psal.* 105. 14. 15. for what yee do unto them, the Lord *Jesus* takes as done unto himfelse; if you hurt any of his members, the head is very sensible of it: for so saith the Lord of Hosts, Hee that toucheth you toucheth the apple of mine eye, *Zach.* 2 8. And better a mill-stone were hanged about our necks, and that wee were cast into the sea, then that wee should offend any of [23] these little ones, which beleeve on him, *Matthew* 18. 6. X

And lastly, wee beseech you consider, how you should stand in relation to us, as nursing Fathers, which gives us encouragement to promote our humble requests to you, or else wee would say with the Prophet, *Isa.* 22. 4. Look from mee that I may weep bitterly, Labour not to comfort mee, &c. or as *Jer.* 9. 2. O that I had in the wilderness a lodging place of a wayfaring man. And thus have wee made known our griefes and desires to your Worships, and leave them upon record with the Lord and with you, knowing that if wee should receive repulse from you, with the Lord wee shall find grace.¹)

Amongst

¹ This remonstrance, copied by Savage from the *Short Story*, is reprinted in his edition of *Winthrop's History*

(Vol. I. pp. 481-483), together with the following letter of *Winthrop* in relation to it: —

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Amongst others who had subscribed to this writing, *William Aspinwall*¹ was one, and being returned for one of the Deputies of *Boston*, it was propounded in the Court, whether hee was fit to bee received a member of the Court, having subscribed

BELOVED BRETHREN,—I met lately with the remonstrance subscribed by yourselves with others. I must confesse I saw it once before, but had not then time to read it advisedly, as now I have. I hope soon (by God's assistance) to make it appear, what wrong hath been done to the court, yea, and to the truth itself, by your rash, unwarranted and seditious delinquency. In the mean time, I thought fit to advertise you of some miscarriages therein; and though your countenancing of others in the like practice leaves me small hope, that you will hearken to my counsel in this, yet, in discharge of my duty and brotherly respect towards you, I have given this attempt, and shall leave the success to God.

1. In this you have broke the ends of your calling, that you did publish such a writing, when you were no members of the court.

2. In that you tax the court with injustice.

3. In that you affirm, that all the acts of that major part of that court are void, whereby you go about to overthrow the foundation of our commonwealth and the peace thereof, by turning all our magistrates out of office, and by nullifying all our laws.

4. In that you invite the body of the people to join with you in your seditious attempt against the court and the authority here established, against the rule of the apostle, who requires every soul to be subject to the higher powers, and every Christian man to study to be quiet and to meddle with his own business.

I earnestly desire you to consider seriously of these things, and if it please the Lord to open your eyes to see your fallings, it will be much joy to me, and (I doubt not but)

the court will be very ready to pass them by, and accept of your submission, and it may be a means of a further and firm reconciliation; which the Lord grant, and in his good time effect. So I rest

Your loving brother,

J. W.

XIth, 15, 1637.

To my worthy Friends and beloved Brethren, Mr. CODDINGTON, Mr. COGGESHALL, and Mr. COLBURN. }

¹ Of William Aspinwall, Savage (*Genealogical Dictionary*, Vol. I. pp. 70, 71) gives the following record: First mentioned at Charlestown, in 1630; he probably came in the fleet with Winthrop. He served on the earliest jury of inquest in the colony, September 28 of that year, and was one of the first members of the church, his name being tenth on the list; he was chosen one of the two deacons at the church organization. He soon removed to Boston, and was made freeman April 3, 1632. In August, 1637, when Gov. Sir Harry Vane returned to England, Aspinwall was chosen representative by Boston to succeed him; but as a supporter of Wheelwright and follower of the teachings of Mrs. Hutchinson, was dismissed, disfranchised, and banished. First he went to Rhode Island, "with so many other of his fellow saints," and signed the incorporation of Portsmouth of March 7, 1638; appointed secretary of the colony, he was subsequently suspected of sedition, and, January 2, 1638, "it was ordered that they would deal with

subscribed to the said writing, which was so much to the dishonour and contempt thereof, &c. Whereupon hee was demanded if hee would justifie the matter contained in the said writing: which when hee had peremptorily affirmed, by the vote of the Court hee was presently dismissed: Whereupon Mr. *Cogshall*,¹ another of the Deputies of *Boston*, who had

with William Aspinwall concerning his defaults, as also concerning invasions foreign and domestic" (1 *R. I. Col. Rec.* 64). He then appears to have left Rhode Island and to have gone to Connecticut. He lived at New Haven in 1641-42, but came again, by favor of the General Court (1 *Mafs. Col. Rec.* 338) to Boston, where in 1643 he served as clerk of the writs, or recorder, and was of the artillery company. It is certain that he was a proprietor at Watertown, though he never resided there. He returned to England, and in 1653 "published a queer book as prognostic of the millennium to open in twenty years. No mortification was felt probably by him for non-arrival of this fifth monarchy, as I suppose he did not even live to see the success of the rival dynasty. Cromwell alone was powerful enough to retard such event, and the whole body of people of England with unanimity that was never before or since equalled in that kingdom, by calls for the restoration of the house of Stuart, postponed the success of such enthusiasm."

It is not known that there are any descendants of William Aspinwall in America.

¹ John Coggeshall, or Coxfall, mercer, born in Essex in 1591, came to New England in the ship *Lion*, landing in Boston Sunday, September 16, 1632.

He was admitted freeman on the 6th of the following November, and removed from Roxbury, where he first sat down, to Boston, which place he represented in the first three General Courts, and also in the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth. While living in Boston he had three children, Hanamel, Wait, and Bedaiah, of which last Savage remarks, "whether son or daughter is not known." After his banishment by the twelfth General Court, as set forth in the text, he removed to Rhode Island, where he was chosen as Assistant in 1641, and in 1647, first President of the colony. He was also the first Treasurer of Rhode Island, and, one of the chief men of Newport, died on November 16, 1647, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. He was buried in a lot on his own farm in Newport, where a substantial monument erected by one of his descendants now marks the place of his interment.

His residence in Boston was near that of Mrs. Hutchinson, at the intersection of School Street with Washington Street. A man of high character, he died generally lamented, leaving a numerous progeny.

Vide Savage's Winthrop, Vol. I. p. * 130 n., and *Genealogical Dictionary*, Vol. I. p. 421. where the date of death is conjecturally but erroneously assigned as 1689; also Austin's *Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island*, p. 49.

had not subscribed to the said writing, being then a Deputy of the Court, spake very boldly to the Court, and told them, that seeing they had put out Mr. *Aspinwall* for that matter, they were best make one work of all, for as for himselfe, though his hand were not to the Petition, yet hee did approve of it, and his hand was to a Protestation, which was to the same effect; Whereupon the Court dismissed him also, and sent word to *Boston* to chuse two new Deputies: then X Mr. *Coddington*¹ the third Deputy, moved the Court (by Order from the Town of *Boston*) that the former censure against Mr. *Wheel*. might bee reversed, and that the Order made against receiving such as should not bee allowed by the Magistrates might bee repealed; whereby the Court perceived their obstinate resolution in maintaining this faction, and thereupon gave Order hee should be sent for; and for the Law, the answer was, that whereas a Declaration had been made of the equity of that Law, and that specially for the satisfaction of those of *Boston*, and an Answer had been published by some of them, wherein much reproach and slander had been cast upon the Court, to which a reply had been made above six weeks since, but was kept in upon expectation that the late Assembly would have had some good effect, in clearing the points in controversie, and reconciling the minds of the adverse party, but they continuing obstinate and irreconcilable

¹ William Coddington, commonly referred to as the "founder of the colony of Rhode Island," was born in England in 1601, and lived there in Boston. He came to Massachusetts with Winthrop, in 1630, and, in consequence of the action of the General Court, removed to Rhode Island in March, 1638. He died in Newport, November 1, 1678.

Biographical notices of him will be found in the cyclopedias, in Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary* (Vol. I. p. 416), and in his notes to *Winthrop* (Vol. I. p. *50). Vide also Austin's *Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island*, pp. 276-279, and *Magazine of New England History* (October, 1891), Vol. I. pp. 228-238.

conciliable, it was thought fit the whole proceedings about the law should be brought forth, and accordingly the next day, the Declaration, the Answer and the Reply¹ were all brought to the Court, and there openly read; which gave such satisfaction to those which were present as no man ought to object, and some that were of the adverse party, and had taken offence at the Law, did openly acknowledge themselves fully satisfied.

When

¹ The law, or "order," here referred to was that of November, 1637 (*Records*, Vol. I. p. 211), and was as follows:—

"Whereas the opinions & revelations of Mr. Wheelwright & Mrs. Hutchinson have seduced, & led into dangerous errors, many of the people here in Newe England, inſomuch as there is juſt cauſe of ſuſpition, that they, as others in Germany, in former times, may, upon ſome revelation, make ſome ſuddaine irruption upon thoſe that differ from them in judgment: for prevention whereof, it is ordered, that all thoſe, whoſe names are underwritten, ſhall, (upon warning given or left at their dwelling houſes.) before the 30th day of this month of November, deliver in at Mr. Cane's houſe at Boſton all ſuch guns, piſtols, ſwords, powder, ſhot, & match, as they ſhalbee owners of, or have in their cuſtody, upon paine of ten pound for evry default to bee made thereof; which armes are to bee kept by Mr. Cane till this Court ſhall take further order therein. Alſo it is ordered, upon like penalty of X £. that no man, who is to render his armes by this order, ſhall buy or borrow any guns, ſwords, piſtols, powder, ſhot, or match,

until this court ſhall take further order therein. . . .

"It was ordered, that if any that are to bee diſarmed acknowledge their ſinn in ſubſcribing the ſeditious libell, or do not juſtify it, but acknowledge it evill to two magiſtrates, they ſhalbee thereby freed from delivering in their armes according to the former order. . . .

"The towne of Roxberry is required to take order for the ſafe cuſtody of Mrs. Hutchinson; & if any charge ariſe, to bee defrayed by her husband."

The "Declaration" and "Reply" referred to in the text were written by Winthrop, and the "Answer" was by Vane. Theſe papers are included in Hutchinson's *State Papers* (pp. 67-100), reprinted in the Collections of the Prince Society, and an abſtract of the diſcuſſion is given in Upham's *Vane* (Sparks's *American Biography*, Vol. IV. pp. 123-164), in Hoſmer's *Vane* (pp. 61-67), and in R. C. Winthrop's *Life and Letters of John Winthrop* (Vol. II. pp. 182-191). J. A. Doyle in his *English in America: the Puritan Colonies* (Vol. I. p. 178) offers a brief but impartial and judicious criticiſm of theſe papers, none of which, he intimates, roſe to the height and dignity of the occaſion.

When the Warrant came to the Town of *Boston*, they assembled together and agreed (the greater part of [24] them) to send the same Deputies which the Court have rejected, pretending that it was their liberty, and those were the ablest men, &c. but Mr. *Cotton* comming amongst them, and perceiving their rash and contemptuous behaviour, by his wisdom diverted them from that course: so they chose two other,¹ but one of them they knew would be rejected, because his hand was also to the seditious writing, as it fell out, for hee refusing to acknowledge his fault in it, was also dismissed, and a new Warrant sent for another to be chosen, which they never made any return of, but that contempt the Court let passe.

When Mr. *Wheelwright* appeared, it was declared to him, that whereas hee was long since convict of sedition and contempt of authority, and time had been given him from Court to Court, to come to the knowledge of his offence, the Court thought it now time to know how his mind stood, whether he would acknowledge his offence, or abide the sentence of the Court? His Answer was to this effect, that hee had committed no sedition nor contempt, hee had delivered nothing but the truth of Christ, and for the application of his doctrine it was by others, and not by him, &c.

To which it was answered by the Court; that they had not

¹ The two delegates referred to were William Colburn and John Oliver. The name of the last was subscribed to the Remonstrance, and permission to take his seat was on this ground refused him (1 *Mass. Col. Rec.* 206; *Savage's Winthrop*, Vol. I. p. * 246 n). Neither Colburn nor Oliver was among those

banished. The first remained in Boston, and served several times as selectman subsequent to 1638; while Oliver, remaining for a time in Boston, afterwards removed to Newbury (*Savage, Genealogical Dictionary*, Vol. I. p. 423, 424; Vol. III. p. 309).

not censured his doctrine, but left it as it was; but his application, by which hee laid the Magistrates, and the Ministers, and most of the people of God in these Churches, under a Covenant of works, and thereupon declared them to be enemies to Christ, and Antichrists, and such enemies as *Herod* and *Pilate*, and the Scribes and Pharisees, &c. persuading the people to look at them, and deale with them as such, and that hee described them so, as all men might know who hee meant, as well as if hee had named the parties: for he was present in the Court¹ a little before, when both Magistrates and Ministers did openly professe their judgement in that point, and that they did walk in such a way of evidencing justification by sanctification, &c. as hee held forth to be a Covenant of works.

Secondly, the fruits of that Sermon of Mr. *Wheelwright*. together with the Declaration of his judgement in that point both before and since, have declared it to tend to sedition: for whereas before hee broached his opinions, there was a peaceable and comely order in all affaires in the Churches, and civill state, &c. now the difference which hee hath raised amongst men, by a false distinction of a Covenant of grace and a Covenant of works; whereby one party is looked at as friends to Christ, and the other as his enemies, &c. all things are turned upside down among us: As first, in the Church, hee that will not renounce his sanctification, and waite for an immediate revelati^on of the Spirit, cannot be admitted, hee hee never so godly; hee that is already in the Church, that will not do the same, and acknowledge

¹ The Court held in November, 1636. Vide Savage's *Winthrop*, Vol. I. p. 215.

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X
knowledge this new light, and say as they say, is presently noted, and under-esteemed, as favouring of a Covenant of works: thence it spreads into the families, and sets divisions between husband and wife, and other relations there, till the weaker give place to the stronger, otherwise it turnes to [25] open contention: it is come also into Civill and publike affaires, and hath bred great disturbance there, as appeared in the late expedition against the Pequods; for whereas in former expeditions the Towne of *Boston* was as forward as any others to send of their choyce members, and a greater number then other Townes in the time of the former Governour; now in this last service they sent not a member, but one or two whom they cared not to be rid of, and but a few others, and those of the most refuse sort, and that in such a carelesse manner, as gave great discouragement to the service, not one man of that side accompanying their Pastour, when he was sent by the joynt consent of the Court, and all the Elders upon that expedition, nor so much as bidding him farewell¹; what was the reason of this difference?

Why,

¹ *Vide Savage's Winthrop*, Vol. I. p. 222. The Massachusetts proportion of the total levy for this expedition was one hundred and sixty men, of which number twenty-six were apportioned to Boston. If the relative population of the place at the two periods is taken into account, this would have been equivalent to a levy of twenty-three hundred men at the outbreak of the Confederate rebellion in 1861. The great prominence given to the clergy in the Presbyterian and earlier Puritan warfare of the seventeenth century, and

the influence they exerted over military operations even in the face of an enemy are well known, though the familiar tradition that it was only through their interference with Leslie's plans that Cromwell was saved from serious disaster at Dunbar is now discredited. Nevertheless, it is a well established historical fact that in this very Pequot campaign Captain John Mason of Connecticut left the course to be pursued at the turning-point of operations to the chaplain of the expedition, who during the night was "to feck Divine direction

Why, nothing but this, Mr. *Wheelwright* had taught them that the former Governour and some of the Magistrates then were friends of Christ and Free-grace, but the present were enemies, &c. Antichrists, persecutors: What was the reason that the former Governour never stirred out, but attended by the Serjeants, with Halberts or Carbines, but this present Governour neglected?¹ Why, the people were taught to looke at this, as an enemy to Christ, &c. The same difference hath beene observed in Towne lots, rates, and in neighbour meetings, and almost in all affaires, whereby it is apparent what disturbance the seditious application of Mr. *Wheelwright* hath wrought among us; therefore as the Apostle saith, I would they were cut off that trouble you; and as *Cain*, *Hagar*, and *Ishmael*,² were expelled as troublers

X
of

direction in prayer" (2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* Vol. VIII. p. 134; Palfrey, Vol. I. p. 464). The prominence subsequently conceded to the Rev. John Willson in the Massachusetts contingent of this same campaign is clearly shown in the letter of its commander, Israel Stoughton, to Governor Winthrop, written on the 14th of August, 1637, and printed in Savage's *Winthrop* (Appendix D, Vol. I. pp. 478-481). I am not aware that any other reference, besides that in the text, exists to the difficulty experienced in raising men for the Boston contingent in the Pequot war; but in the histories of the Antinomian controversy much stress has been laid on the fact as illustrating the dangerous character of the dissension (Palfrey, Vol. I. pp. 491, 492, 502; J. A. Vinton, *Antinomian Controversy*, p. 62; Twichell, *John Winthrop*, p. 165). In view of the intense feeling which during the

summer of 1637 prevailed in the Boston church, and the great personal antipathy felt towards Willson, the pastor, the local reluctance at going into the contingent is explicable on obvious grounds. It was the same as if men were in more recent times asked to enlist for military or naval service of a most dangerous character under an unpopular commander, in regard to whose capacity there was a general feeling of distrust. No general inference could safely be drawn from the fact. The trouble, as shown in the text, was largely personal, and such as would be experienced at all times under similar conditions.

¹ *Vide* Savage's *Winthrop*, Vol. I. p. 220 and Editor's note, and p. 224.

² "So, by the example of Lot in Abraham's family, and after Hagar and Ishmael, he saw they must be sent away." — SAVAGE'S *Winthrop*, Vol. I. p. 250.

of the families, (which were then as commonwealths) so justice requires, and the necessity of the peace calls for it, that such disturbers should be put out from among us, seeing it is one of their tenents, that it is not possible their opinions, and externall peace, can stand together; and that the difference betweene them and us is (as they say) as wide as between Heaven and Hell.

X Further the Court declared what meanes had beene used, to convince him and to reduce him into the right way, as first at the Court, when he was convict of his offence, the Ministers being called together did labour by many sound arguments, both in publike and private to convince him of his error and sinne, but he contemptuously slighted whatsoever they or the Magistrates said to him in that behalfe; and since that much paines had beene taken with him, both by conference and writing, not onely privately, but also by the late Assembly of the Churches, wherein his erroneous opinions, which were the groundworke of his seditious Sermon, were clearly confuted, and himselfe put to silence, yet he obstinately persisted in justification of his erroneous opinions; and besides there was an Apologie¹ written in defence of the proceedings of the Court against him, which though it were kept in for a time in expectation of a Remonstrance, which some of his party were in hand with, for justification of his Sermon, yet it was long since published, and without question he hath seene it: besides the Court hath used much patience towards him from time to time, admonishing him of his danger, and waiting for his repentance, in stead whereof

¹ The "Apologie" referred to was subsequently printed as part of the *Short Story*. *Vide infra*, pp. 191-233.

MAY 1. MAY 2

may 1

A Short Story.

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whereof he hath threatned us with an appeale, and urged us to proceed: To this Mr. *Wheclwright* replied, [26] that he would, by the helpe of God, make good his doctrines, and free them from all the arguments which had beene brought against them in the late Assembly, and denyed that he had seene the Apology, but confessed that he might have seene it if he would. This was observed as an argument of the pride of his spirit, and wilfull neglect of all the meanes of light in that he would not vouchsafe to read a very brieve writing, and such as so much concerned him. ✓

Although the cause was now ready for sentence, yet night being come, the Court arose, and enjoyned him to appeare the next morning.

The next morning he appeared, but long after the houre appointed; the Court demanded what he had to alleadge, why sentence should not proceed against him; He answered, that there was no sedition or contempt proved against him, and whereas he was charged to have set forth the Magistrates and Ministers, as enemies to Christ, &c. he desired it might be shewed him in what page or leafe of his Sermon he had so said of them; The Court answered, that he who designes a man by such circumstances, as doe note him out to common intendments, doth as much as if he nam'd the party: when *Paul* spake of those of the circumcision, it was as certaine whom he meant as if he named the Jewes; when in *Bohemia* they spake of differences betweene men, *sub una & sub utraque*, it was all one as to have said Papists and Protestants; so of the Monstrants and Remonstrants: for by the meanes of him and his followers, all people of God in this Countrey were under the distinction

tion of men under the Covenant of grace, and men under a Covenant of workes. Mr. *Wheelwright* allcaded a place in *Matth.* 21. where Christ speaking against the Scribes and Pharisees, no advantage could they take against him because he did not name them, but it was answered they did not spare him for that cause, for then they would have taken their advantage at other times, when he did name them. One or two of the Deputies spake in his defence, but it was to so little purpose (being onely more out of affection to the party, then true judgement of the state of the cause) that the Court had little regard of it. Mr. *Wheelwright* being demanded if he had ought else to speake, said that there was a double Pharisee in the charge laid upon them. 1. In that the troubles of the Civill State were imputed to him, but as it was by accident, as it is usuall in preaching of the Gospel. 2. That it was not his Sermon that was the cause of them, but the Lord Jesus Christ. To which the Court answered, that it was apparent he was the instrument of our troubles, he must prove them to be by such accident, and till then the blame must rest upon himselfe, for we know Christ would not owne them, being out of his way. After these and many other speeches had passed, the Court declaring him guilty for troubling the civill peace, both for his seditious Sermon, and for his corrupt and dangerous opinions, and for his contemptuous behaviour in divers Courts formerly, and now obstinately maintaining and justifying his said errours and offences, [27] and for that he refused to depart voluntarily from us, which the Court had now offered him, and in a manner perswaded him unto; Seeing it was apparent unto him; from that of our Saviour, *Matth.* that we could not cont
toget

together without the ruine of the whole, he was sentenced to be disfranchised and banished our jurisdiction, and to be put in safe custody, except he should give sufficient security to depart before the end of March: Upon this he appealed to the Kings Majesty, but the Court told him an appeale did not lie in this case, for the King having given us an authority by his graunt under his great Seale of *England* to heare and determine all causes without any reservation, we were not to admit of any such appeales for any such subordinate state, either in *Ireland*, or *Scotland*, or other places; and if an appeale should lie in one case, it might be challenged in all, and then there would be no use of government amongst us: neither did an appeale lie from any Court in any County or Corporation in *England*, but if a party will remove his cause to any of the Kings higher Courts, he must bring the Kings Writ for it;¹ neither did he tender any appeale, nor call any witnesses, nor desired any Act to be entered of it: then he was demanded if he would give security for his quiet departure, which he refusing to doe, he was committed to the custody of the Marshall. The next morning he be-thought himsele better, and offered to give security, alleadging that he did not conceive the day before that a sentence of banishment was pronounced against him, he also suffered to relinquish his appeale, and said he would accept of a simple banishment; The Court answered him, that for his appeale

¹ In this and many other similar cases the right of appeal from the colonial magistracy to the King was denied; but in one case at least,—that of Thomas Morton, in 1644, the fact of having made an appeal was alleged as

a criminal offence justifying the infliction of punishment. Savage's *Winthrop*, Vol. II. p. *189. Vide also Adams's *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, Vol. I. pp. 348-350.

appeale, he might doe as he pleased, and for his departure, he should have the liberty the Court had offered him, provided he should not preach in the meane time; but that he would not yeeld unto; so in the end the Court gave him leave to goe home, upon his promise, that if he were not departed out of his jurisdiction within foureteene dayes, he would render himselfe at the house of Mr. *Stanton*,¹ one of the Magistrates, there to abide as a prisoner, till the Court should dispose of him.

Mr. *Cogshall*.

X THE next who was called, was Mr. *John Cogshall*, one of the Deacons of *Boston*, upon his appearance the Court declared that the cause why they had sent for him, was partly by occasion of his speeches and behaviour in this Court the other day, and partly for some light miscarriages at other times, and that they did looke at him as one that had a principall hand in all our late disturbances of our public peace. The first thing we doe charge you with, is your justifying a writing called a Remonstrance or Petition, but indeed a seditious Libell, and that when Mr. *Asp.* was questioned by the Court about it, you stood up uncalled, and justified the same, saying to this effect, that if the Court meant

¹ This is a compositor's misreading of copy, the name having apparently been written Stouton, the magistrate in question having been Israel Stoughton, of Dorchester (*Mafs. Col. Rec.*, Vol. I. p. 207). Full accounts of the earliest Stoughton are to be found in Savage's notes to *Winthrop* and in his *Genealogical Dictionary*, in Allen, and in the histories of Dorchester. At the time of

the proceedings referred to in the text, Stoughton had just returned from the Pequot campaign, in which he commanded the Massachusetts contingent; and his close personal relations with the Rev. John Wilson are apparent in his letter of August, 1637, to Winthrop, printed in the Appendix (D) of Savage's *Winthrop* (Vol. I. pp. 478-481).

meant to dismisse him for that, it was best to make but one worke of all, for though your selfe had not your hand to the Petition, yet you did approve thereof, and your hand was to the Protestation, which was to the same effect; whereupon you being also dismissed, used clamorous and unbecoming speeches to the Court at your departure, whereby we take you to be of the same minde with those who made [28] the Petition, and therefore liable to the same punishment; upon this the Petition was openly read, and liberty was granted to him to answer for himselfe. His first answer was, that what he then spake, he spake as a member of the Court: to which it was answered againe, that 1. hee was no member of the Court standing upon tryall whether to be allowed or rejected, at such time as he uttered most of those speeches. 2. Admit he were, yet it is no privilege of a member to reproach or affront the whole Court, it is licentioufnesse, and not liberty, when a man may speake what he list; for he was reminded of some words he uttered at his going forth of the Court, to this effect, that we had censured the truth of Christ, and that it was the greatest stroke that ever was given to Free-grace. X

To which he answered, that his words were mistaken; for he said that he would pray that our eyes might be opened to see what we did, for he thought it the greatest stroke that ever was given to *N. E.* for he did beleve that Master *Wheetwright* did hold forth the truth. He was further charged, that at the Court, after the day of elections, he complained of injury, that the Petition which was tendered, was not presently read before they went to election. X

To which being answered, that it was not then seasonable, and

and against the order of that day, but the Court were then ready to heare it, if it were tendered; whereupon he turned his backe upon the Court, and used menacing speeches to this effect. That since they could not be heard then, they would take another course. To which he answered (confessing he spake over hastily at that time) that his words were onely these, then we must doe what God shall direct us. He was further charged that he should say, that halfe the people that were in Church-covenant in *N. E.* were under a Covenant of workes, this he did not deny, but said he proved it by the parable of the ten Virgins, *Mat. 15* After these and many other speeches had passed betweene the Court and himselfe, by which it plainly appeared that he had beene a very busie instrument, in occasioning of our publike disturbances, and his justifying of Mr. *Wheelewrights* Sermon; and the Petition or Remonstrance being seditious writings, a motion was made for his banishment, but he pretended that there was nothing could be laid to his charge, but matter of different opinion, and that he knew not one example in Scripture, that a man was banished for his judgement; it was answered, that if he had kept his Judgement to himselfe, so as the publike peace had not beene troubled or endangered by it, we should have left him to himselfe, for we doe not challenge power over mens consciences, but when seditious speeches and practises discover such a corrupt conscience, it is our duty to use authority to reforme both. But though a great part of the Court did encline to a motion for his banishment, yet because his speech and behaviour at present were more modest and submisse, then formerly they had beene, and for that he excused his former intemperances

intemperances by his much employment and publike busi-
nesses, it was thought fit to deliver him from that tempta-
tion; so he was onely sentenced to be disfranchizd,
with admonition no more to occasion any disturbance [29] X
of the publicke peace, either by speech or otherwise,
upon paine of banishment and further censure.

Mr. *Aspin*,

THE next who was called was Mr. *William Aspin*, to
whom the Court said that his case was in a manner the
same with Master *Cogshalls*, his hand was to the Petition, X
he had justified Master *Wheelwright* his Sermon, and had
condemned the Court, and therefore what could he say, why
the Court should not proceede to sentence? For he had
beene present and heard what was said to Master *Cogshall*,
to have convinced him of his fault, and therefore it would
be needlesse to repeate any thing. To this he answered and
confessed the Petition, and that his heart was to it as well as
his hand, and that that for which Master *Wheelwright* was
censured was for nothing but the truth of Christ, and desired
to know what we could lay to his charge therein. The
Court told him that he being a member of this civill Body, X
and going contrary to his relation and oath, to stop the
course of Justice in countenancing seditious persons and
practises against the face of authority, this made him a se-
ditious person. He answered he did but preferre a humble
Petition, which he could not doe but he must intimate some
cause why, and that *Mephibosheth*¹ in his Petition did imply
as much of *Davids* unjust sentence against him as was in
this Petition. The Court replied that he was ill advised to
bring

¹ 2 *Samuel* xvi. 1-4: xix. 24-30.

bring that example for his justification which makes clearly against him, for *Mephibosheth* doth not charge *David* with any injustice not so much as by implication, but excuseth himselfe and layeth all the blame upon his servant. Then he alledged the Petition of *Esther* to *Ahasuerus*; ¹ but neither would that serve his turne, for she petitioned for her life, &c. without charging the King with injustice. Hee still fled to this plea, that it is lawfull for Subjects to Petition; the Court answered that this was no Petition, but a seditious Libell, the mis-naming of a thing doth not alter the nature of it: besides they called it in the first place a Remonstrance, which implies that they pretended interest, and is in the nature of it a plea, which challengeth a right of a party: besides they give peremptory Judgement in the cause, and that directly opposite to the judgement of the Court; the Court declared Mr. *Whelwright* guilty, they proclaime him innocent, the Court judged his speech to be false and seditious, they affirmed it to be the truth of Christ, and the very words of the holy Ghost, which is apparently untrue if not blasphemous. Further in pretending their moderation, they put arguments in the peoples mindes to invite them to violence, by bringing the example of *Peter* ² drawing his Sword, wherein they blame not his fact, but his rashnesse. And that of the People rescuing *Jonathan*, ³ which to make the more effectuall, they say that it was not seditious.

Lastly, it was great arrogance of any private man thus openly to advance his owne judgement of the Court, therefore it will appeare to their Posterity as a brand of infamy, upon these erroneous opinions, that those who maintained them

¹ *Esther* v. 6-8; viii. 3-6.

² *John* xviii. 10.

³ *Samuel* xiv 45.

them were not censured for their judgement, but for [30] seditious practises: He further pleaded, that no Petition can be made in such a case, but something may be mistaken through misprision as trenching upon authority, the Court answered, that if they had onely petitioned the Court to remit his censure, or had desired respite for further considerations, or leave to propound their doubts, there could have been no danger of being mistaken. Besides there was no neede of such haste in Petitioning, seeing the sentence was not given, but deferring till the next Court, Master *Wheelwright* enjoyed onely to appeare there. The Court then being about to give sentence, Master *Aspin* desired the Court to shew a rule in Scripture for banishment; the Court answered as before, that *Hagar* and *Ismael*¹ were banished for disturbance: hee replied that if a Father give a child a portion and sent him forth, it was not banishment: but it was answered, the Scripture calls it a casting out, not a sending forth; and one said further that he was a childe worthy of such a portion. X

Then the sentence of the Court was for his dis-franchisement and banishment, and time given him to the last of *March* upon security for his departure then, which hee presently tendered, and so was dismissed. The Court intended onely to have dis-franchised him, as they had done Mr. *Cogshall*, but his behaviour was so contemptuous, and his speeches so peremptory, that occasioned a further aggravation, and it appeared afterward to be by an over-ruling hand of God, for the next day it was discovered, that hee was the man that did frame the Petition, and drew many to subscribe X

¹ *Genesis* xxi. 10, 14; *supra*, p. 143.

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subscribe to it, and some had their names put to it without their knowledge, and in his first draught there was other passages so foule, as hee was forced to put them out, and yet many had not subscribed, but upon his promise that it should not bee delivered without advice of Mr. Cotton, which was never done.

William Baulston, Ed. Hutchison.

After these, two of the Serjeants of Boston were called, William Baulston,¹ & Ed. Hutchison,² these both had their hands to the Petition, and justified the same, William Baulston told the Court, that hee knew that if such a petition

¹ William Baulston, or Balfstone, was a member of Boston's first board of assessors, appointed November 10, 1634. Of him Savage says in his *Genealogical Dictionary* (Vol. I. p. 109): "William Balfstone came, no doubt, with Winthrop's fleet; he desired admission as freeman of the company 19 October, 1630, and took the oath 18 May following. . . . He was in steady employment for town affairs, trusted among the worthiest, chosen a selectman in 1637; yet in the latter part of the same year was disarmed, with the majority of his fellow-worshippers, as being under the fascination of Mrs. Hutchinson, and went, in 1638, to Portsmouth, R. I., which his associates purchased that season. He was there held in high regard, chosen as an Assitant in 1639, 1641, and 1656, named in the royal charter of 1663, and died 14 March, 1678, aged seventy-eight." Vide Austin's *Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island*, pp. 16-17.

² Savage in his notes to Winthrop's *History* (Vol. I. p. * 247, note 1) speaks

of Edward Hutchinson, included in the list of those of Boston who were disarmed under the order of November, 1637, as a "son of the prophets." This was probably the same Edward Hutchinson referred to in the text, but he would seem to have been not a son of Anne Hutchinson, but a brother of her husband. It will be noticed that the Edward Hutchinson referred to speaks of his "wife and childre," and Anne Hutchinson's son Edward was not married until 1636, or early in 1637, and the record of the birth of his first child was November 5, 1637, while the event recorded in the *Short Story* occurred on the 2d of that month, or three days previous. The elder Edward Hutchinson, according to Savage (*Genealogical Dictionary*, Vol. II. p. 508) came to Boston with his wife in 1633, probably in the *Griffin*, together with John Cotton, Edmund Quincy, and other prominent persons. He was admitted into the church in October of the same year, and was made a freeman,

March

tion had been made in any other place in the world, there would have been no fault found with it. The other told the Court, (turning himself in a scornful manner) that if they took away his estate, they must keep his wife and children; for which hee was presently committed to the Officer. The Court reasoned a good while with them both, but they were peremptory, and would acknowledge no failing, and because of their contemptuous speeches, and for that they were known to be very busie persons, and such as had offered contempt to the Magistrates, for that they were not of their opinion, they were disfranchised and fined, *William Baulston* twenty pounds, *Ed. Hutchison* forty pounds. X

The next morning *Ed. Hutchison* acknowledged his fault in his mis-behaviour in the face of the Court, and so was released of his imprisonment, but both were disabled from bearing any publick Office. [31]

Tho. Marshal, Dynely, Dier, Rich. Gridly.

Another day were called foure more of the principall stirring men, who had subscribed to the Petition, X
Thomas

March 4, 1634. Two sons were born to him in Boston, one in 1634 and another in September, 1637. In the Boston church records he is referred to as "senior," to distinguish him from his nephew, who came over before his parents with the Rev. John Cotton and his uncle. In the records and biographical notices the two Edwards seem to have been frequently confounded. Except from the genealogical point of view the matter is of no importance; both the two Edwards were among the first settlers in Newport, but the uncle

is reported as having soon after gone back to England, whence he never returned to America; while the nephew, preferring Boston as his residence, returned there from Rhode Island a few years later, and was killed by the Indians while holding important military rank in King Phillip's War. He died August 19, 1675, leaving a numerous progeny, and was the ancestor of Gov. Thomas Hutchinson (*N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, 1847, p. 297; *Drake's Boston*, pp. 226-227).

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*Thomas Marshall*¹ the Ferryman, who justified the Petition so farre, that hee would not acknowledge any fault; yet hee answered more modestly then the former, therefore hee was not fined, but diffranchised, and put out of his place. *Dynely*,² and *Dier*,³ had little to say for themselves, but persisting

¹ Thomas Marshall, shoemaker, or ferryman, or both, is referred to as "widower," on admission to the Boston church, August 31, 1634. Wheelwright, in his *Mercurius Americanus* (p. 5), says that he plied his trade as ferryman "in a River called *Charles River*, directly betwixt *Boston* and *Charles Town*, and other Towns, where his spirits being predisposed by the roughnesse of winds and waves, and agitated by the *Counterbuffes* of Divinitie, which the respective passengers vented, he might easily be inflamed." Marshall was made a freeman March 4, 1635. He was among those required to surrender their arms in November, 1637; "but, like most of the rest thus abused, regained high esteem, was selectman of Boston, 1647-58, deacon and representative in 1650, and died perhaps in 1665" (Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary*, Vol. III. p. 158). There were two Thomas Marshalls in Boston at this period, causing subsequently much genealogical confusion.

² William Dinely, barber surgeon, is mentioned in the records only in the list of those disarmed in November, 1637, and subsequently as one of "five men and youths [who] perished between Mattapan and Dorchester" in the north-easter of December 15, 1638, when, in the words of Winthrop (*History*, Vol. I. p. 286), "there was so great a tem-

pest of wind and snow all the night and the next day, as had not been since our time." Ten days later Dinely's widow, Alice, gave birth to a son to whom was given the name *Father-gone*. Johnson, in his *Wonderworking Providence* (p. 138), has the following reference to William Dinely and the circumstances of his death: "One of Roxbury sending to Boston his servant maid for a barber-chirurgeon to draw his tooth, they lost their way in the passage between, and were not found till many days after, and then the maid was found in one place, and the man in another, both of them frozen to death; in which sad accident this was taken into consideration by divers people, that this barber was more than ordinary laborious to draw men to those sinful errors, that were formerly so frequent, and now newly overthrown, — by the blessing of the Lord upon the endeavor of his faithful servants with the word of truth, — he having a fit opportunity, by reason of his trade, so soon as any were sat down in his chair, he would commonly be cutting of their hair and the truth together; notwithstanding some report better of the man, the example is for the living; the dead is judged of the Lord alone."

³ William Dier, Dyer, or Dyre, was the husband of Mary Dyer, whose name is associated with some of the most tragic incidents

lifting in their justification, they were also disfranchised: likewise *Rich. Gridly*,¹ an honest poore man, but very apt to meddle in publick affaires, beyond his calling or skill, (which indeed was the fault of them all, and of many others in the Country) meane condition, and weake parts, having nothing to say, but that he could find no fault, &c. was disfranchised.

Misbris Hutchison.

ALL these (except Mr. *Wheelwright*) were but young branches, sprung out of an old root, the Court had now to do with the head of all this faction, (*Dux femina facti*)² a woman had been the breeder and nourisher of all these

incidents of early Massachusetts history. A woman of unsound mind, living at a time when insanity was not understood, she became a religious monomaniac, and was finally executed on Boston Common and there buried (*Memorial History of Boston*, Vol. I. p. 185 n.; *Adams's Three Episodes*, pp. 408, 532, 548). One of the passages of Winthrop's *History* which might best have been omitted (Vol. I. pp. *261-263) relates to this unfortunate female. Both husband and wife came from London to Boston in 1635, and Winthrop refers to the former as "a milliner in the New Exchange," and to both as "notoriously infected with Mrs. Hutchinson's errors, and very censorious and troublesome (she being of a very proud spirit, and much addicted to revelations)." The name given by the couple to one of their children — Mahershalahashbaz (*Isaiah* viii) — is suggestive of their weakness and tendencies. They went to Rhode Island with the Hutchinsons in the spring of 1638, where William

Dyer afterwards served as secretary of the colony, and, living in good esteem, died at Newport in 1677. Austin (*Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island*, pp. 290-292) gives detailed memoranda of both the Dyers and their progeny.

¹ Richard Gridley, according to Savage (*Genealogical Dictionary*, Vol. II. p. 313), came to Boston as early as 1631. He was made a freeman in 1634. He does not seem to have been the New England progenitor of the Richard Gridley who, nearly one hundred and fifty years later, planned the works on Bunker Hill on the night preceding the 17th of June, 1775, and subsequently held the rank of major-general in the provincial army. Of the first Richard Gridley and his religious tendencies, Wheelwright, referring to the proceedings narrated in the text, remarks, "the Court cured him of his pragmatism very well; for they took from him his employment" (*Mercurius Americanus*, p. 6).

² *Æneid*, B. I. l. 364.

these distempers, one Mistris *Hutchison*, the wife of Mr. *William Hutchison* of *Boston*¹ (a very honest and peaceable man of good estate) and the daughter of Mr. *Marbury*,² sometimes a Preacher in *Lincolnshire*, after of *London*, a woman of a haughty and fierce carriage, of a nimble wit and active spirit, and a very voluble tongue, more bold then a man, though in understanding and judgement, inferiour to many women. This woman had learned her skil in *England*, and had discovered some of her opinions in the Ship,³ as shee came over, which had caused some jealousie of her, which gave occasion of some delay of her admission, when shee first desired fellowship with the Church of *Boston*, but shee cunningly dissembled and coloured her opinions, as shee soon got over that block, and was admitted into the Church, then shee began to go to work, and being a woman very helpful in the times of child-birth, and other occasions of bodily infirmities, and well furnished with means for those purposes, shee easily insinuated her selfe into the affections of many, and the rather, because shee was much inquisitive of them about their spiritual estates, and in discovering to them the danger they were in, by trusting to common gifts and graces, without

¹ "A man of a very mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife" (*Savage's Winthrop*, Vol. I. p. 295), "a woman of a ready wit and bold spirit" (*ib.* 200): "The genius of that family hath not much inclined to subtillies, scarce any of the *Hutchinsons* have been Sectaries, unlesse *à la tere*, and Indirectly" (*Mercurius Americanus*, p. 4).

² In the *New England Genealogical and Antiquarian Register* for 1866

(Vol. XX. pp. 355-367) there is an elaborate paper by J. L. Chester on "The *Hutchinson* Family of England and New England, and its Connection with the *Marburys* and *Drydens*."

³ *William Hutchinson* and his wife came over in the *Griffin*, the Rev. *John Lothrop* and the Rev. *Zachariah Symmes*, "two godly ministers, coming in the same ship" (*Savage's Winthrop*, Vol. I. p. 143). *Infra*, p. 313.

without any such witnesse of the Spirit, as the Scripture holds out for a full evidence; whereby many were convinced that they had gone on in a Covenant of works,¹ and were much humbled thereby, and brought to inquire more after the Lord Jesus Christ, without whom all their gifts and graces, all their contributions, &c. would prove but legall, and would vanish: all this was well, and suited with the publick Ministry, which went along in the same way, and all the faithful imbraced it, and blessed God for the good successe that appeared from this discovery.² But when shee had

¹ In regard to the theological tenets known as the Covenant of Grace and the Covenant of Works, a discussion will be found in Ellis's *Puritan Age of Massachusetts* (pp. 301-362) and in Adams's *Three Episodes* (pp. 402-406).

² "At her first comming she was well respected and esteemed of me, not onely because herself and her family were well beloved in England at Allford in Lincolnshire (not far beyond Boston:) nor onely because she with her family came over hither (as was said) for conscience sake: but chiefly for that I heard, shee did much good in our Town, in womans meeting at Childbirth-Travells, wherein shee was not onely skilfull and helpfull, but readily fell into good discourse with the women about their spiritual estates: And therein cleared it unto them, That the soul lying under a Spirit of Bondage, might see and sensibly feel the hainous guilt, and deep desert of sin, and thereby not onely undergoe affliction of Spirit but also receive both restraining, and constraining Grace likewise, (in some

measure:) restraining from all known evill (both courses, and companies) (at least for a season) and constraining to all known duties, as secret Prayer, Family Exercises, Conscience of Sabbaths, Reverence of Ministers, Frequenting of Sermons, Dilligence in calling, honesty in dealing, and the like: yea and that the Soul might find some tastes and flashes of spirituall comfort in this estate, and yet never see or feel the need of Christ, much lesse attain any saving Union, or Communion with him, being no more but Legall work, even what the Law, and the Spirit of bondage (breathing in it) might reach unto. By which means many of the women (and by them their husbands) were convinced, that they had gone on in a Covenant of Works, and were much shaken and humbled thereby, and brought to enquire more seriously after the Lord Jesus Christ, without whom all their Gifts and Graces would prove but common, and their duties but legall, and in the end wizen and vanish. All this was well (as is reported truly, page 31 of her Story) and suited with the pub-

had thus prepared the way by such wholesome truths, then shee begins to set forth her own stuffe, and taught that [32] no sanctification was any evidence of a good estate, except their justification were first cleared up to them by the immediate witnessse of the Spirit, and that to see any work of grace, (either faith or repentance, &c.) before this immediate witnessse, was a Covenant of works: whereupon many good soules, that had been of long approved godlinesse, were brought to renounce all the work of grace in them, and to wait for this immediate revelation: then sprung up also that opinion of the in-dwelling of the person of the Holy Ghost, and of union with Christ, and Justification before faith, and a denying of any gifts or graces, or inherent qualifications, and that Christ was all, did all, and that the soule remained alwayes as a dead Organ:¹ and other of those grosse errors, which were condemned in the late Assembly, and whereof diverse had been quashed, by the publick Ministry;

like Ministry, which had gone along in the same way, so as these private conferences did well tend to water the seeds publickly sown. Whereupon all the faithful embraced her conference, and blessed God for her fruitful discourses. And many whose spirituall estates were not so safely layed, yet were hereby helped and awakened to discover their sandy foundations, and to seek for better establishment in Christ: which caused them also to blesse the Lord for the good successe, which appeared to them by this discovery" (Cotton, *Way Cleared* [1648], pp. 50-51).

¹ "Two dangerous errors: 1. That the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person. 2. That no sanctifi-

cation can help to evidence to us our justification. — From these two grew many branches; as, 1, Our union with the Holy Ghost, so as a Christian remains dead to every spiritual action, and hath no gifts nor graces, other than such as are in hypocrites, nor any sanctification but the Holy Ghost himself" (Savage's *Winthrop*, Vol. 1. p. *200). "Mr. Cotton . . . agreed . . . that sanctification did help to evidence justification. . . . but, for the indwelling of the person of the Holy Ghost, he held that still . . . but not union with the person of the Holy Ghost (as Mrs. Hutchinson and others did) so as to amount to a personal union" (*Id.* p. *201).

istery; but the maine and bottom of all, which tended to quench all indeyour, and to bring to a dependance upon an immediate witnessse of the Spirit, without sight of any gift or grace, this stuck fast, and prevailed so, as it began to bee opposed, and shee being questioned by some, who marvelled that such opinions should spread so fast, shee made answer, that where ever shee came they must and they should spread, and indeed it was a wonder upon what a sudden the whole Church of *Boston* (some few excepted) were become her new converts, and infected with her opinions, and many also out of the Church, and of other Churches also, yea, many prophane persons became of her opinion, for it was a very easie, and acceptable way to heaven, to see nothing, to have nothing, but waite for Christ to do all; so that after shee had thus prevailed, and had drawn some of eminent place and parts to her party (whereof some profited so well, as in a few moneths they outwent their teacher) then shee kept open house for all commers, and set up two Lecture dayes in the week, when they usually met at her house, threescore or fourescore persons, the pretence was to repeate Sermons,¹ but

¹ "It had been a custom in many congregations that the ministers allowed their people the liberty still, after sermon, to propose what questions they thought fit for their further satisfaction about any points which had been delivered" (*Magnalia*, B. VII. chap. 3, §6). This custom seems to have been common in the Calvinistic churches of both England and Scotland. Burnet (*History of his own Times*, Vol. I. p. 280) thus describes the practice as it prevailed in the latter country: "Their ministers

generally brought [the people] about them on the Sunday nights, where the sermons were talked over; and every one, women as well as men, were desired to speak their sense and their experience: and by these means they had a comprehension of matters of religion, greater than I have seen among people of that sort any where. The preachers went all in one track, of raising observations on points of doctrine out of their text, and proving these by reasons, and then of applying those, and shewing the use

but when that was done, shee would comment upon the Doctrines, and interpret all passages at her pleasure, and expound dark places of Scripture, so as whatsoever the Letter held forth (for this was one of her tenents, that the whole Scripture in the Letter of it held forth nothing but a Covenant of works) shee would bee sure to make it serve her turn, for the confirming of her maine principles, whereof this was another, That the darker our sanctification is, the cleerer is our

use that was to be made of such a point of doctrine, both for instruction and terror, for exhortation and comfort, for trial of themselves upon it, and for furnishing them with proper directions and helps: and this was so methodical, that the people grew to follow a sermon quite through every branch of it. To this some added, the resolving of doubts concerning the state they were in, or their progress or decay in it; which they called cases of conscience: and these were taken from what their people said to them at any time, very oft being under fits of melancholy, or vapours, or obstructions, which, though they flowed from natural causes, were looked on as the work of the Spirit of God, and a particular exercise to them; and they fed this disease of weak minds too much."

Cotton Mather goes on to say that in the early New England churches this practice "was oftentimes made an occasion of much contention, vexation and folly in the assemblies." It was accordingly condemned by the Cambridge Synod of August, 1637, and the following rules laid down in regard to it:—

"1. That though women might meet (some few together) to pray and edify one another; yet such a set assembly,

(as was then in practice at Boston,) where sixty or more did meet every week, and one woman (in a propheticall way, by resolving questions of doctrine, and expounding scripture) took upon her the whole exercise, was agreed to be disorderly, and without rule.

"2. Though a private member might ask a question publicly, after sermon, for information; yet this ought to be very wisely and sparingly done, and that with leave of the elders: but questions of reference, (then in use) whereby the doctrines delivered were reproved, and the elders reproached, and that with bitterness, etc., was utterly condemned.

"3. That a person, refusing to come to the assembly, to abide the censure of the church, might be proceeded against, though absent; yet it was held better, that the magistrates' help were called for, to compel him to be present.

"4. That a member, differing from the rest of the church in any opinion, which was not fundamental, ought not for that to forsake the ordinances there; and if such did desire dismissal to any other church, which was of his opinion, and did it for that end, the church whereof he was ought to deny it for the same end."

our justification; And indeed most of her new tenents tended to slothfulness, and quench all indeavour in the creature: and now was there no speech so much in use, as of vilifying sanctification, and all for advancing Christ and free grace, and the whole Pedegree of the Covenant of works was set forth with all its Complements, beginning at *Cain*, If thou dost well shalt thou not bee accepted? then it is explained and ratified at Mount *Sinai*, and delivered in the two Tables, and after sprinkled with the blood of Christ, *Exod. 24.* and so carryed on in the Letter of the Scripture, till it bee compleat, as the Covenant of Grace by the Spirit, seales, forgivenessse of sins, one of the venters whereon Christ begets children, &c. and in the end wherefore is all this adoe, but that having a more cleanly way, to lay all that [33] opposed her, (being neere all the Elders and most of the faithfull Christians in this Countrey) under a Covenant of workes, shee might with the more credit, disclose and advance her masterpiece of immediate revelations, under the faire pretence of the Covenant of free Grace; wherein shee had not failed of her ayme, to the utter subversion both of Churches and civill state, if the most wise and mercifull providence of the Lord had not prevented it by keeping so many of the Magistrates, and Elders, free from the infection: for upon the countenance which it took from some eminent persons, her opinions began to hold up their heads, in Church Assemblies, and in the Court of Justice, so as it was held a matter of offence to speak any thing against them in either Assembly: thence sprang all that trouble to the Pastour of *Boston*, for his free and faithfull speech in the Court, though required and approved: thence took Mr. *Wheelwright* cour-

X age to inveigh in his sermon against men in a Covenant of works (as hee placed them) and to proclaim them all enemies to Christ, Scribes and Pharisees, &c. whereas before hee was wont to teach in a plaine and gentle stile, and though hee would sometimes glaunce upon these opinions, yet it was modestly and reservedly, not in such a peremptory and censorious manner, as hee did then and after; for they made full account the day had been theirs, But blessed bee the Lord, the snare is broken, and wee are delivered, and this woman who was the root of all these troubles, stands now before the seat of Justice, to bee rooted out of her station, by the hand of authority, guided by the finger of divine providence, as the sequell will show. ✓

When shee appeared, the Court spake to her to this effect.¹

X Mistris *Hutchinson*. You are called hither as one of those who have had a great share in the causes of our publick disturbances, partly by those erroneous opinions which you have broached and divulged amongst us, and maintaining them, partly by countenancing and encouraging such as have fowed seditions amongst us, partly by casting reproach upon the faithfull Ministers of this Countrey, and upon their Ministry, and so weakning their hands in the work of the Lord, and raising prejudice against them, in the hearts of their people, and partly by maintaining weekly and publick meetings in your house, to the offence of all the Countrey, and the

¹ Besides the report of the trial of Mrs. Hutchinson in the *Short Story*, another and distinct report was printed by Hutchinson in the Appendix to his *History of Massachusetts* (Vol. II. pp. 482-526). Whence he derived it is not known. This second report, not included in Hutchinson's *State Papers*, is reprinted as part of the present publication. *Vide infra*, pp. 235-284.

the detriment of many families, and still upholding the same, since such meetings were clearely condemned in the late generall Assembly.

Now the end of your sending for, is, that either upon fight of your errors, and other offences, you may bee brought to acknowledge, and reforme the same, or otherwise that wee may take such course with you as you may trouble us no further.

Wee do desire therefore to know of you, whether you will Justifie and maintaine what is laid to your charge or not?

Mistris *Hutchison*. I am called here to answer to such things as are laid to my charge, name one of them.

Court Have you countenanced, or will you justifie [34] those seditious practises which have been censured here in this Court?

Hutch. Do you ask mee upon point of conscience? X

Court No, your conscience you may keep to your self, but if in this cause you shall countenance and encourage those that thus transgresse the Law, you must bee called in question for it, and that is not for your conscience, but for your practise. X

Hutch. What Law have they transgressed? the Law of God?

Court Yes, the fifth Commandment, which commands us to honour Father and Mother, which includes all in authority, but these seditious practises of theirs, have cast reproach and dishonour upon the Fathers of the Commonwealth. X

Hutch. Do I intertaine, or maintaine them in their actions, wherein they stand against any thing that God hath appointed?

Court

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Court Yes, you have justified Mr. *Wheelwright* his Sermon, for which you know hee was convict of feditiō, and you have likewise countenanced and encouraged those that had their hands to the Petitiō.

Hutch. I deny it, I am to obey you only in the Lord.

Court You cannot deny but you had your hand in the Petitiō.

X *Hutch.* Put case, I do feare the Lord, and my Parent doe not, may not I entertain one that feares the Lord, because my Father will not let mee? I may put honour upon him as a childe of God.

Court That's nothing to the purpose, but wee cannot stand to dispute causes with you now, what say you to your weekly publick meetings? can you shew a warrant for them?

Hutch. I will shew you how I took it up, there were such meetings in use before I came, and because I went to none of them, this was the speciall reason of my taking up this course, wee began it but with five or six, and though it grew to more in future time, yet being tolerated at the first, I knew not why it might not continue.

X *Court* There were private meetings indeed, and are still in many places, of some few neighbours, but not so publick and frequent as yours, and are of use for increase of love, and mutuall edification, but yours are of another nature, if they had been such as yours they had been evill, and therefore no good warrant to justifie yours; but answer by what authority, or rule, you uphold them.

X *Hutch.* By *Tit. 2.* where the elder women are to teach the younger.

Court

Court So wee allow you to do, as the Apostle there meanes, privately, and upon occasion, but that gives no warrant of such set meetings for that purpose; and besides, you take upon you to teach many that are elder than your selfe, neither do you teach them that which the Apostle commands, *vis.* to keep at home. X

Hutch. Will you please to give mee a rule against it, and I will yeeld? X

Court You must have a rule for it, or else you [35] cannot do it in faith, yet you have a plaine rule against it; I permit not a woman to teach. X

Hutch. That is meant of teaching men. X

Court If a man in distresse of conscience or other temptation, &c. should come and ask your counsell in private, might you not teach him? X

Hutch. Yes.

Court Then it is cleare, that it is not meant of teaching men, but of teaching in publick. X

Hutch. It is said, I will poure my Spirit upon your Daughters, and they shall prophesie, &c. If God give mee a gift of Prophecy, I may use it. X

Court First, the Apostle applies that prophecy unto those extraordinary times, and the gifts of miracles and tongues were common to many as well as the gift of Prophecy. Secondly, in teaching your children, you exercise your gift of prophecy, and that within your calling. X

Hutch. I teach not in a publick congregation: The men of Berea are commended for examining Pauls Doctrine; wee do no more but read the notes of our teachers Sermons, and then reason of them by searching the Scriptures. X

Court

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Court You are gone from the nature of your meeting, to the kind of exercise, wee will follow you in this, and shew you your offence in them, for you do not as the *Bercans*¹ search the Scriptures for their confirming in the truths delivered, but you open your teachers points, and declare his meaning, and correct wherein you think he hath failed, &c. and by this meanes you abase the honour and authority of the publick Ministry, and advance your own gifts, as if hee could not deliver his matter so clearely to the hearers capacity as your self.

Hutch. Prove that, that anybody doth that.

Court Yes, you are the woman of most note, and of best abilities, and if some other take upon them the like, it is by your teaching and example, but you shew not in all this, by what authority you take upon you to bee such a publick instructor: (after shee had stood a short time, the Court gave her leave to sit downe, for her countenance discovered some bodily infirmity.)

Hutch. Here is my authority, *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, tooke upon them to instruct *Apollo*, more perfectly,² yet he was a man of good parts, but they being better instructed might teach him.

Court See how your argument stands, *Priscilla* with her husband, tooke *Apollo* home to instruct him privately, therefore Mistris *Hutchison* without her husband may teach sixty or eighty.

Hutch. I call them not, but if they come to me, I may instruct them.

Court Yet you shew us not a rule.

Hutch. I have given you two places of Scripture.

Court

¹ *Acts* xvii. 11.

² *Acts* xviii. 26.

Court But neither of them will sute your practise.

Hutch. Must I shew my name written therein? | ✗ ✗

Court You must shew that which must be æquivalent, seeing your Ministry is publicke, you would have [36] ✗ them receive your instruction, as comming from such an Ordinance.

Hutch. They must not take it as it comes from me, but as it comes from the Lord Jesus Christ, and if I tooke upon me a publick Ministry, I should breake a rule, but not in exercising a gift of Prophecy, and I would see a rule to turne away them that come to me. ✗

Court, It is your exercise which drawes them, and by occasion thereof, many families are neglected, and much time lost, and a great damage comes to the Common-wealth thereby, which wee that are betrusted with, as the Fathers of the Common-wealth, are not to suffer. Divers other speeches passed to and fro about this matter, the issue was, that not being able to bring any rule to justify this her disordered course, she said she walked by the rule of the Apostle, *Gal.* which she called the rule of the new creature, but what rule that was, she would not, or she could not tell, neither would she consent to lay downe her meetings, except authority did put them downe, and then she might be subject to authority. ✗

Then the Court laid to her charge, the reproach she had cast upon the Ministers, and Ministry in this Country, saying that none of them did preach the Covenant of free Grace, but Master *Cotton*, and that they have not the Seale of the Spirit, and so were not able Ministers of the New Testament: she denied the words, but they were affirmed

by divers of the Ministers, being desired by the Court to be present for that end. The matter was thus, It being reported abroad that Mistris *Hutchison* did slight them and their Ministry in their common talke, as if they did preach nothing but a Covenant of workes, because they pressed much for faith and love, &c. without holding forth such an immediate witnessse of the Spirit as she pretended, they advised with Master *Cotton* about it, and a meeting was appointed at his house, and she being sent for, and demanded the reason why she had used such speeches, at first she would not acknowledge them, but being told that they could prove them by witnessses, and perswaded to deale freely and truly therein, she said that the feare of man was a snare, and therefore she was glad she had this opportunity to open her minde, and thereupon she told them, that there was a wide difference betwene Master *Cottons* Ministry and theirs, and that they could not hold forth a Covenant of free Grace, because they had not the Seale of the Spirit, and that they were not able Ministers of the New Testament. /

It was neare night, so the Court brake up, and she was enjoyned to appeare againe the next morning. When she appeared the next day, she objected that the Ministers had spoken in their owne cause, and that they ought not to be informers and witnessses both, and required that they might be sworne to what they had spoken: to which the Court answered, that if it were needfull, an oath should be given them: but because the whole Court (in a manner man by man) did declare themselves to be fully satisfied of the truth of their testimones, they being 6 or 7. men of long approved

approved godlineffe, and fincerity in their courfe, and [37] for that it was alfo generally obferved, that thofe of her party did looke at their miniftery (for the moft part) as a way of the Covenant of workes, and one had beene punifhed about halfe a yeere before,¹ for reporting the like of them. The Court did pause a while at it, whereupon ſhe ſaid that ſhe had Mr. *Wilſons* notes of that conference,² which were otherwiſe then they had related: the Court willed her to ſhew them, but her answer was ſhee had left them at home: whereupon Mr. *Wilſon* (with the leave of the Court) ſaid, that if ſhe brought forth his notes, they ſhould finde written at the foote of them, that he had not written downe all that was ſpoken, but being often interrupted, he had omitted divers paſſages; then ſhe appealed to Mr. *Cotton*, who being called, and deſired to declare what he remembred of her ſpeeches, ſaid, that he remembred onely that which tooke impreſſion on him, for he was much grieved that ſhe ſhould make ſuch comparifon betweene him and his brethren, but yet he tooke her meaning to be onely of a graduall difference, when ſhe ſaid that they did not hold forth a Covenant of

¹ "One Stephen Greenſmith, for ſaying that all the miniſters, except A. B. C., did teach a covenant of works, was cenſured to acknowledge his fault in every church, and fined £40" (*Savage's Winthrop*, Vol. I. p. *215; *Records*, Vol. I. p. 189).

² This conference took place in Boſton, December 12 and 13, 1636, and there is an extended reference to it in *Winthrop* (Vol. I. pp. *207-210). Held during the fittings of the ſpecial ſeſſion of the General Court ſummoned to fill the vacancy occaſioned by Vane's reſig-

nation of the governorſhip, "every occaſion increaſed the contention, and cauſed great alienation of minds; . . . and it began to be as common here to diſtinguiſh between men, by being under a covenant of grace or a covenant of works, as in other countries between Proteſtants and Papiſts." The records of the colony contain no reference to the conference, the details of which are to be learned only from the alluſions in the text and in the Governor Hutchinson report of the trial of Mrs. Hutchinson (*vide infra*, pp. 246-249).

X of Free-grace, as he did, for she likened them to Christs Disciples, and their ministry, before his ascension, and before the holy Ghost was come downe upon them; and when she was asked by some of them, why they could not preach a Covenant of Free-grace, she made answer, because they had not the Seale of the Spirit: upon this the Court wished her X to consider, that Mr. *Cotton* did in a manner agree with the testimony of the rest of the Elders: and as he remembred onely so much as at present tooke most impresson in him, so the rest of the Elders had reason to remember some other passages, which he might not heare, or not so much observe as they whom it so neerely and properly concerned; All this would not satisfie Mistris *Hutchison*, but she still called to have them sworne, whereupon the Court being weary of the clamour, and that all mouths might be stopped, required three of the Ministers to take an oath, and thereupon they confirmed their former testimony.

Upon this she began to speake her mind, and to tell of the manner of Gods dealing with her, and how he revealed himselfe to her, and made her know what she had to doe; X The Governour perceiving whereabout she went, interrupted her, and would have kept her to the matter in hand, but seeing her very unwilling to be taken off, he permitted her to proceed. Her speech was to this effect.

Mistris *Hutchison*.

X When I was in old England, I was much troubled at the constitution of the Churches there, so farre, as I was ready to have joyned to the Separation, whereupon I set apart a day for humiliation by my selfe, to seeke direction from God, and then did God discover unto me the unfaithfulnessse

ness of the Churches, and the danger of them, and that none of those Ministers could preach the Lord Jesus aright, for he had brought to my mind, that in the 1 *John* 4. 3.¹ Every spirit that confesseth not, that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is the spirit of Antichrist; I marvelled what this should meane, for I knew that neither Protestants [38] nor Papists did deny that Christ was come in the flesh; and are the Turkes then the onely Antichrists? now I had none to open the Scripture to me, but the Lord, he must be the Prophet, then he brought to my mind another Scripture, He that denies the Testament, denies the death of the Testator; from whence the Lord did let me see, that every one that did not preach the New Covenant, denies the death of the Testator; then it was revealed to me that the Ministers of *England* were these Antichrists, but I knew not how to beare this, I did in my heart rise up against it, then I begged of the Lord that this Atheisme might not be in my heart: after I had begged this light, a twelve moneth together, at last he let me see how I did oppose Christ Jesus, and he revealed to mee that place in *Esay* 46. 12, 13,² and from thence shewed me the Atheisme of my owne heart, and how I did turne in upon a Covenant of works, and did oppose Christ Jesus; from which time the Lord did discover to me all
 forts

¹ "2 Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God:

³ "3 And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God: and this is that spirit of antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come, and even now already it is in the world.

⁴ "4 Ye are of God, little children, and have overcome them: because greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world."

¹² "12 Hearken unto me, ye stout-hearted, that are far from righteousness:

¹³ "13 I bring near my righteousness; it shall not be far off, and my salvation shall not tarry: and I will place salvation in Zion for Israel my glory."

X sorts of Ministers, and how they taught, and to know what
 voyce I heard, which was the voyce of *Moses*, which of *John*
Baptist, and which of Christ; the voyce of my beloved, from
 the voyce of strangers; and thenceforth I was the more
 carefull whom I heard, for after our teacher Mr. *Cotton*, and
 my brother *Wheelwright* were put downe, there was none in
England that I durst heare. Then it pleased God to re-
 veale himselfe to me in that of *Esay* 30. 20.¹ Though the
 Lord give thee the bread of aduersity, &c. yet thine eyes
 shall see thy teachers; after this the Lord carrying Mr.
Cotton to *New England* (at which I was much troubled) it
 X was revealed to me, that I must go thither also, and that
 there I should be persecuted and suffer much trouble. I will
 give you another Scripture, *Jer.* 46.² Feare not *Jacob* my
 servant, for I am with thee, I will make a full end of all
 the Nations, &c. then the Lord did reveale himselfe to me,
 sitting upon a Throne of Justice, and all the world appearing
 before him, and though I must come to *New England*, yet
 I must not feare nor be dismaied. The Lord brought an-
 other Scripture to me, *Esay.* 8. 9.³ The Lord spake this to
 me

¹ "20 And though the Lord give
 you the bread of aduersity, and the
 water of affliction, yet shall not thy
 teachers be removed into a corner any
 more, but thine eyes shall see thy
 teachers."

² "27 But feare not thou, O my
 servant Jacob, and be not dismayed, O
 Israel: for, behold, I will save thee from
 afar off, and thy seed from the land of
 thy captivity; and Jacob shall return,
 and be in rest and at ease, and none
 shall make him afraid.

³ "28 Feare not thou, O Jacob my
 servant, saith the Lord: for I am with
 thee; for I will make a full end of all
 the nations whither I have driven thee:
 but I will not make a full end of thee,
 but correct thee in measure; yet will I
 not leave thee wholly unpunished."

⁴ "11 For the Lord spake thus to
 me with a strong hand, and instructed
 me that I should not walk in the way
 of this people, saying,

⁵ "12 Say ye not, A confederacy, to
 all them to whom this people shall say,

me with a strong hand, and instructed me that I should not walke in the way of this people, &c. I wil give you one place more which the Lord brought to me by immediate revelations, and that doth concerne you all, it is in *Dan.* 6.¹ When the Presidents and Princes could find nothing against him, because he was faithfull, they sought matter against him concerning the Law of his God, to cast him into the Lions denne; so it was revealed to me that they should plot against me, but the Lord bid me not to feare, for he that delivered *Daniel*, and the three children, his hand was not shortened. And see this Scripture fulfilled this day in mine eyes, therefore take heed what yec goe about to doe unto me, for you have no power over my body, neither can you do me any harme, for I am in the hands of the eternall Jehovah my Saviour, I am at his appointment, the bounds of my habitation are cast in Heaven, no further doe I esteeme of any mortall man, then creatures in his hand, I feare none but the great Jehovah, which hath foretold me of these things, and I doe verily belceve that he will deliver me

A Confederacy; neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid.

"13 Sanctify the Lord of hosts himself: and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread.

"14 And he shall be for a sanctuary; but for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, for a gin and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

"15 And many among them shall stumble, and fall, and be broken, and be snared, and be taken.

"16 Bind up the testimony, seal the law among my disciples.

"17 And I will wait upon the Lord,

that hideth his face from the house of Jacob, and I will look for him.

"18 Behold, I and the children whom the Lord hath given me are for signs and for wonders in Israel from the Lord of hosts, which dwelleth in mount Zion."

"4 Then the presidents and princes sought to find occasion against Daniel concerning the Kingdom; but they could find none occasion nor fault; forasmuch as he was faithful, neither was there any error or fault found in him.

"5 Then said these men, he shall not find any occasion against this Daniel, except we find it against him concerning the law of his God."

me out of our hands, therefore take heed how you proceed against me; for I know that for this you goe about to doe to me, God will ruine you and your posterity, and this whole State.

When she had thus vented her mind, the Court demanded of her, how she expected to be delivered, whether by miracle as *Daniel* was, to which she answered, yes, by miracle as *Daniel* was. Being further demanded how shee did know that it was God that did reveale these things to her, and not Satan? She answered, how did *Abraham* know that it was the voyce of God, when he commanded him to sacrifice his sonne?

Mr. *Cotton* being present, and desired by the Court to deliver his judgement about Mistris *Hutchison* her Revelations, answered, there be two sorts of Revelations, some are without or besides Scripture, those I looke at as Satanicall, and tending to much danger, other are such as the Apostle speakes of, *Ephes.* 1.¹ where he praieth for a spirit of revelation to be given them, those are never dispensed but according to the word of God, though the word revelation be uncouth, yet in Scripture sence I thinke it not lawfull so to expresse it, and when ever it comes, it comes with the ministry of the word. Being againe desired to expresse himselfe particularly concerning her revelations, he demanded of her (by the leave of the Court) whether by a miracle

¹ "17 That the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Glory, may give unto you the spirit of wisdom, and revelation in the knowledge of him:

"18 The eyes of your understanding being enlightened; that ye may know what is the hope of his calling, and

what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints,

"19 And what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power."

miracle she doth meane a worke beyond the power of nature, or onely above common providence? for if (as you say) you expect deliverance from this Court beyond the power of nature, then I should suspect such a revelation to be false. To this she answered, you know when it comes, God doth not describe the way. Mr. *Cotton* asked her againe, whether (when shee said shee should be delivered) she meant a deliverance from the sentence of the Court, or from the calamity of it? She answered, ycs, from the calamity of it. Mistris *Hutchison* having thus freely and fully discovered her selfe, the Court and all the rest of the Assembly (except those of her owne party) did observe a speciall providence of God, that (while shee went about to cover such offences as were laid to her charge, by putting matters upon prooffe, and then quarrelling with the evidence) her owne mouth should deliver her into the power of the Court, as guilty of that which all suspected her for, but were not furnished with prooffe sufficient to proceed against her, for here she hath manifested, that her opinions and practise have been the cause of al our disturbances, & that she walked by such a rule as cannot stand with the peace of any State; for such bottomlesse revelations, as either came without any word, or without the sense of the word, (which was framed to humane capacity) if they be allowed in one thing, must be admitted a rule in all things; for they being above reason and Scripture, they are not subject to controll: Againe, she hath given a reason why she hath so much slighted the faithfull Ministers of Christ here, why? it was revealed to her long since in *England*, that all the packe of them were Antichristians, so as she durst heare none of them, after Mr. *Cotton* and Mr.

Wheelwright



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Wheelwright were once gone; for they could not preach Christ and the new Covenant (as she affirms), why, but they did preach somewhat, and if they could not hold forth Christ in a Covenant of Free-grace, then must they needs [40] hold him forth in a Covenant of workes, then are they not able Ministers of the New Testament, nor sealed by the Spirit; for the servants of God, who are come over into *New England*, do not thinke themselves more spirituall then other of their brethren whom they have left behind, nor that they can or doe hold forth the Lord Jesus Christ in their ministry, more truly then he was held forth in *England*, and seeing their ministry was a most precious sweete favour to all the Saints before she came hither, it is easie to discern from what sinke that ill vapour hath risen, which hath made so many of her seduced party to loath now the smell of those flowers which they were wont to find sweetnesse in: yet this is not all (though it be too too vile) she can fetch a revelation that shall reach the Magistrates and the whole Court, and the succeeding generations, and she hath Scripture for it also, *Daniel* must be a type of Mistris *Hutchison*, the Lions denne of the Court of justice, and the Presidents and Princes of the reverend Elders here, and all must fort to this conclusion, she must be delivered by miracle, and all we must be ruined; See the impudent boldnesse of a proud dame, that *Athaliah*-like¹ makes havocke of all that stand in the way of her ambitious spirit; she had boasted before that her opinions must prevaile, neither could she endure a stop in her way, as appeared

¹ "1 And when Athaliah the mother of Azakiah, saw that her son was dead, she arose and destroyed all the seed royal. . . .

³ And Athaliah did reign over the land."
(2 *Kings* xi.; 2 *Chronicles* xxii. 10-12.)

peared once upon a slight occasion when her reputation being a little touch'd upon a mistake, yet so carried as she could not get the party upon that advantage which she expected, she vented her impatience with so fierce speech and countenance, as one would hardly have guessed her to have been an Anti-type of *Daniel*, but rather of the Lions after they were let loose. The like appeared in her, when she could not have her will against her faithfull Pastor for his opposing her opinions, as she apprehended, so as neither reason, nor Scripture, nor the judgement and example of such as she revered could appease her displeasure. So that the Court did clearly discern, where the fountaine was of all our distempers, and the Tragedy of *Munster*¹ (to such as had read it) gave just occasion to feare the danger we were in, seeing (by the judgement of *Luther* writing of those troublous times) we had not to doe with so simple a Devill, as managed that business, and therefore he had the lesse feare of him; but Satan seemed to have commission now to use his utmost cunning to undermine the Kingdome of Christ here (as the same *Luther* foretold, he would doe, when he should enterprize

¹ The Anabaptist uprising at Munster under John of Leyden and Knipperdoling was suppressed in June, 1536, almost exactly one century before the events referred to in the text, the disturbances having extended over a period of about three years. For about a century and a half after the Anabaptist commotions, if not, indeed, for a longer period and until the French revolution, they were, as in the present case, referred to as a conclusive object-lesson, and made the pretext and excuse

for a policy of rigid suppression in all acute cases of religious difference. A precisely similar reference to that in the text is found in the declaration of the Massachusetts General Court of 1659 (*Records*, Vol. IV. Pt. I. p. 385) in relation to the Quakers; and "the example of their predecessors in Munster" was solemnly cited in evidence of the design of two women from the Barbadoes to "undermine and ruine" the "peace and order here established." *Vide*, also, Paget's *Heresiography*, pp. 1-44.

X prize any such innovation under the cleare light of the Gospel) so as the like hath not beene knowne in former ages, that ever so many wise, sober, and well grounded Christians, should so suddenly be seduced by the meanes of a woman, to sticke so fast to her, even in some things wherein the whole current of Scripture goeth against them, and that notwithstanding that her opinions and practise have beene so grosse in some particulars, as their knowledge and sincerity would not suffer them to approve, yet such interest hath she gotten in their hearts, as they seecke cloakes to cover the nakednesse of such deformities, as in the meane time they are ashamed to behold.

X [41] The Court saw now an inevitable necessity to rid her away, except wee would bee guilty, not only of our own ruine, but also of the Gospel, so in the end the sentence of banishment was pronounced against her, and shee was committed to the Marshall, till the Court should dispose of her.

X Another day, Captaine *John Underhill*¹ was sent for, and being charged with joyning in the said Petition, acknowledged the same, professing that hee could see no fault in it: being demanded a rule by which hee might take so much upon him, as publickly to contradict the sentence of the Court, &c. hee alledged the example of *Joab* his rough speech to *David*, when hee retired himself for *Abshaloms* death,

¹ John Underhill came to New England in the fleet with Winthrop. The place and time of his birth are not known: he is reported to have died at Oyster Bay, L. I., in 1672. Full references to his life will be found in Sav-

age's *Winthrop* (Vol. I. p. *55) and *Genealogical Dictionary* (Vol. IV. p. 358), and in Adams's *Three Episodes* (pp. 551-558). Also in Bolton's *History of West Chester* (Vol. II. p. 229).

death, and that *David* did not reprove him for it.¹ To this the Court answered.

First, That *Joab* was then in the matters of his own calling, and being Generall of the Army, had liberty by his place to give advice to the King in causes of that nature, but when hee failed in the manner of his speech, therein hee is not to bee excused, and therefore not to bee followed.

Secondly, *Joab* did not contradict or reprove any Judiciall sentence of the King, but only an inordinate passion.

Thirdly, Hee was occasioned by an urgent necessity of the safety of the King and State.

Fourthly, That which hee spake was in private, for the King had withdrawn himself.

Fifthly, It appears that *David* did take it as a great miscarriage, for hee presently displaced him.²

Againe, in our cause, the Captain was but a private man, and had no calling to deale in the affaires of the Court, therefore no warrant from hence. Hee insisted much upon the

¹ "4 But the king covered his face, and the king cried with a loud voice, O my son Absalom, O Absalom, my son, my son!

"5 And Joab came into the house to the king, and said, Thou hast shamed this day the faces of all thy servants, which this day have saved thy life, and the lives of thy sons and of thy daughters, and the lives of thy wives, and the lives of thy concubines;

"6 In that thou lovest thine enemies, and hatest thy friends. For thou hast declared this day, that thou regardest

neither princes nor servants: for this day I perceive, that if Absalom had lived, and all we had died this day, then it had pleased thee well.

"7 Now therefore arise, go forth, and speak comfortably unto thy servants: for I swear by the Lord, if thou go not forth, there will not tarry one with thee this night: and that will be worse unto thee than all the evil that befell thee from thy youth until now.

"8 Then the king arose, and sat in the gate." — 2 *Samuel* xix.

² 2 *Samuel* xix. 13.

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the liberty which all States do allow to *Military Officers*, for free speech, &c. and that himself had spoken sometimes as freely to Count *Nassaw*.¹

X But it was answered, wee are not to look at what some do tolerate, but what is lawfull, and there may bee a reason of State, to connive at that disorder at some season, which may not with honour and safety bee permitted at another.

Being further demanded, how they came so many of them, to bee so suddenly agreed in so weighty and doubtfull a case, hee answered, that many of them being present when Mr. *Wheelwright* was convict of sedition, they were sore grieved at it, and suddenly rushing out of the Court, a strange motion came into all their mindes, so as they said (in a manner all together) Come let us petition; and for his part, from that time to this, his conscience which then led him to it, will not suffer him to retract it.

The Court pityed him much, and were grieved at his obstinacy, that when all his arguments were taken away, hee had no defence left, hee would yet maintaine a bad cause by the light of a deluded conscience, and withall they tooke notice how these ungrounded revelations began to work,

and what dangerous consequences were like to follow [42] of them, when so many persons upon such a sudden motion had no scruple to enterprize such a seditious action, nor can bee brought by any light of reason or Scripture, to see their error: so the Court (when they saw no other remedy) dif-franchised him, and discharged him of his place, but allowed him his quarters means.

There

¹ Prince Maurice, second son of William of Orange, born in 1567, died in 1625; Stadtholder of Holland from 1584 to his death.

There were diverse who were not present when that sudden motion or revelation first set the Petition on foot, but were drawn in after, who soon found their error, and did as freely acknowledge it, and desired to have their names put out of it, which was easily granted, and their offence with a loving admonition remitted.

It had been observed a good time since, that some of the leaders of this faction (by occasion of new Disciples, being inquisitive about their tenents) would let fall these answers, I have many things to tell you, but you cannot beare them now; and there is a great light to break forth, if men do not resist it, and you shall see the bottom hereafter; and one of them reproved the rest, telling them that they had spoyled their cause, by being over hasty and too open, &c. And now it began to appeare, what their meanings were, for after Mistris *Hutchison* had discovered the secret by her speech in the Court, then others opened their minds, and professedly maintained these Enthusiasmes as the Oracles of God. And that such revelations as *Abraham* had to kill his Son, and as *Paul* had in the Ship, and when hee was caught up into the third heaven, &c. were ordinary, so that Mr. *Cotton* took notice of the danger of them, and publickly confuted them in diverse Sermons. Among other like passages there was one that fell out, at Mr. *Wheel* his farewell to those whom hee used to Preach unto at the Mount.

One of his own Scholars told him openly, that hee had Preached Antichristianisme, and had set up a Christ against a Christ; the same party maintained immediate revelations without any word at all, saying, that the free promises were only for those under the Law, but wee are to look for all

out

our assurance by immediate Revelation, and that in the New Testament there are no signes, no not our baptisme, for the baptisme of water is of no use to us, when once wee are baptized with the Holy Ghost: hee said also that a man might bee adopted and not justified, and that every new creature is as a dead lump, not acting at all, but as Christ acts in him, and denied all inherent rightcoufnesse, and that the commandements were a dead Letter. These things were so grosse, as Mr. *Wheelwright* could not but contradict him, yet hee did it so tenderly, as might well discover his neere agreement in the points, though his wisdome served him to bee more reserved till a fitter season; for that poore man being newly come on to the profession of Religion, must needs learn those points of Mr. *Wheel.* or draw them as necessary consequences from some of his tenents: And it is frequently found to bee an effect of all unsound and unsafe doctrines, that still the Scholar goeth a step further then his Teacher. So it hath proved in former times, *Luther*, and no doubt many of those who did imbrace his errors, in the first edition of them, yet lived and dyed in the true faith [43] of Christ, but the succeeding generations (inheriting those erroneous tenents, which they had drawn from their godly forcfathers, but not their godlinesse) proved hereticks and schismaticks to this day. So it hath been in the Churches of *Rome*, and others, and so wee may justly feare in these Churches in *New England*, howsoever that many that now adhere to these Familisticall opinions, are indeed truely godly, and (no doubt) shall persevere so to the end, yet the next generation, which shall bee trained up under such doctrines, will bee in great danger to prove plain

plain Familists¹ and Schismatics. This discovery of a new rule of practise by immediate revelations, and the consideration of such dangerous consequences, which have and might follow thereof, occasioned the Court to disarm all such of that party, as had their hands to the Petition, and some others, who had openly defended the same, except they should give satisfaction to the Magistrates therein; which some presently did, others made a great question about it, for bringing in their armes, but they were too weak to stand it out.²

Thus it pleased the Lord to heare the prayers of his afflicted people (whose soules had wept in secret, for the reproach which was cast upon the Churches of the Lord Jesus in this Countrey, by occasion of the divisions which were grown amongst us, though the vanity of some weak minds, which cannot seriously affect any thing long, except it bee offered them under some renewed shape) and by the care and indeavour of the wise and faithfull Ministers of the Churches, assisted by the Civill authority, to discover this Master-piece of the old Serpent, and to break the brood by scattering the Leaders, under whose conduct hee had prepared

X ¹ The religious sect known as the Family of Love, or Familists, was founded in Holland in the sixteenth century by Hans Niklas, a disciple of the Dutch Anabaptist, David George, or Joris. Its creed was mystical and somewhat allied to modern Pantheism, being based on the theory that religion consists wholly in love independently of the form of faith. *Vide Masson's Milton*, Vol. II. p. 152.

² "The court also ordered, that the rest, who had subscribed the petition, (and would not acknowledge their fault, and which near twenty of them did,) and some others, who had been chief stirrers in these contentions, etc., should be disarmed. This troubled some of them very much, especially because they were to bring them in themselves; but, at last, when they saw no remedy, they obeyed." — SAVAGE'S *Winthrop*, Vol. I. p. 247.

pared such Ambushment, as in all reason would soon have driven Christ and Gospel out of *New England*, (though to the ruine of the instruments themselves, as well as others) and to the repossessing of Satan in his ancient Kingdom; It is the Lords work, and it is marvellous in our eyes. Mr. *Wheel.* is now gone to *Pascal*,¹ Mistris *Hutchison* is confined in a private house, till the season of the yeer shall bee fit for her departure,² some of those whom God hath left to bee most strongly deluded, are preparing to follow them, and wee hope the Lord will open the eyes of the rest, and persuade them to joyn again with their sometime deare and most beloved brethren, that peace and truth may again flourish in *New England*, *Amen.*

After the Court had thus proceeded, some of the Churches dealt with such of their members as were found guilty of these erroneous and seditious practises, the Church of *Roxbury* (after much pains and patience to reduce them) excommunicated five or six;³ and the Church of *Boston*, by the solicitation

¹ "Pascataqua was then the general designation applied by people residing elsewhere to the region bordering on the river of that name," now known as the Piscataqua. — *BELL'S Wheelwright*, p. 30.

² This fixes the exact time at which this part of the *Short Story* was prepared. Writing under the general date of November 1, 1637, though evidently at a considerably later day, Winthrop says (Vol. I. p. *248): "All the proceedings of this court against these persons were set down at large, with the reasons and other observations, and were sent into England to be published there."

The proceedings referred to took place in November, 1637, occupying nearly the entire month; and Mrs. Hutchison was detained at the house of Joseph Weld, in Roxbury, until shortly before the 15th of the following March. In the interim, therefore, this portion of the *Short Story* was prepared, and, probably, transmitted immediately to London. *Vide infra*, p. 231, n.

³ The church records of Roxbury give the names of three persons, Phillip Sherman, Thomas Willson, and Henry Bull; but the records are evidently incomplete. *Vide* Sixth Report of the Boston Record Commissioners, pp. 79, 81.

solicitation of some of the Elders of the other Churches, proceeded against Mistris *Hutchison*, the manner and issue whereof is fet down in the next.

AT *Boston* in *New England*, upon the 17. day of *October* 1637. the wife of one *William Dyer*, sometimes a Citizen & Millener of *London*, a very proper and [44] comely young woman, was delivered of a large woman childe, it was stilborn, about two moneths before her time, the childe having life a few houres before the delivery, but so monstrous and mis-shapen, as the like hath scarce been heard of: it had no head but a face, which stood so low upon the brest, as the eares (which were like an Apes) grew upon the shoulders.

The eyes stood farre out, so did the mouth, the nose was hooking upward, the brest and back was full of sharp prickles, like a Thornback, the navell and all the belly with the distinction of the sex, were, where the lower part of the back and hips should have been, and those back parts were on the side the face stood.

The arms and hands, with the thighs and legges, were as other childrens, but in stead of toes, it had upon each foot three claws, with talons like a young fowle.

Upon the back above the belly it had two great holes, like mouthes, and in each of them stuck out a piece of flesh.

It had no forehead, but in the place thereof, above the eyes, foure hornes, whereof two were above an inch long, hard, and sharpe, the other two were somewhat shorter.

Many

Many things were observable in the birth and discovery of this Monster.

1. The Father and Mother were of the highest forme of our refined Familists, and very active in maintaining their party, and in reproaching some of the Elders, and others, who did oppose those errors.

2. The Midwife, one *Hawkins* wife of *St. Ives*, was notorious for familiarity with the devill, and now a prime Familist.¹

3. This Monster was concealed by three persons above five moneths.

4. The occasion of concealing it was very strange, for most of the women who were present at the womans travaile, were suddenly taken with such a violent vomiting, and purging, without eating or drinking of any thing, as they were forced to goe home, others had their children taken with convulsions, (which they had not before, nor since) and so were sent for home, so as none were left at the time of the birth, but the Midwife and two other, whereof one fell asleepe.

5. At

¹ "... It was certainly known, that *Hawkins's* wife (who continued with [*Mrs. Hutchinson* at *Aquidneck*] and was her bosom friend) had much familiarity with the devil in England, where she dwelt at *St. Ives*, where divers ministers and others resorted to her and found it true" (*Savage's Winthrop*, Vol. II. p. 9). In Boston "she grew into great suspicion to be a witch, for it was credibly reported, that, when she gave any medicines, (for the practised

physic,) she would ask the party, if she did believe, she could help her, &c." (*Id.* Vol. I. p. 263). Wheelwright in the *Mercurius Americannus* (pp. 7-8) refers contemptuously to *Mrs. Hawkins* as "a poore silly woman," who "complied with her *patronesse*, not so much out of love to her *positions* as *possets*, being gully I think of no other *sorcerie*, unlesse it were conjuring the spirit of *Erreur* into a *Cordiall*."

5. At such time as the child dyed (which was about two houres before the birth) the bed wherein the mother lay shook so violently, as all which were in the roome perceived it.

6. The after birth wherein the childe was, had prickles on the inside like those on the childe's brest.

7. The manner of the discovery was very strange also, for it was that very day Mistris *Hutchison* was cast out of the Church for her monstrous errours, and notorious falsehood; for being commanded to depart the Assembly, Mistris *Dyer* accompanied her, which a stranger observing, asked another what woman that was, the other answered, [45] it was the woman who had the Monster, which one of the Church of *Boston* hearing,¹ enquired about it from one to another, and at length came to Mistris *Hutchison*, with one of the Elders of the Church, to whom shee revealed the truth of the thing in generall onely; this comming to the Governours eare, hee called another of the Magistrates and sent for the Midwife, and (in the presence of the Elder, to whom Mistris *Hutchison* had revealed it) they examined her, who at first confessed it was a monstrous birth, but concealed the horns and claws, and some other parts, till being straitly charged, and told it should bee taken up, and viewed, then shee confessed all, yet for further assurance, the childe was taken up, and though it were much corrupted, yet the horns, and claws, and holes in the back, and some scales, &c. were found and seen of above a hundred persons.

8. The

¹ "Another thing observable was, the discovery of it, which was just when Mrs. Hutchinson was cast out of the church. For Mrs. Dyer going forth with her, a stranger asked, what young

woman it was. The others answered, it was the woman which had the monster; which gave the first occasion to some that heard it to speak of it." — SAVAGE'S *Winthrop*, Vol. I. p. 263.

8. The Father of this Monster, having been forth of the Town, about a Moneth, and comming home just at this time, was upon the Lords day (by an unexpected occasion) called before the Church for some of his monstrous opinions, as that Christ and the Church together, are the new creature, there is no inherent righteousnesse in Christians, *Adam* was not made after Gods Image, &c. which hee openly maintained, yet with such shuffling, and equivocall'ng, as hee came under admonition, &c.¹

¹ " These two pages, 44 and 45, and two lines on page 43, are, unfortunately, in the arrangement of the book placed so as to interrupt the narrative. It seems to be an isolated paper, abruptly

put in without a proper connection with the *order* of the narrative, which has but little order indeed. Evidently from Winthrop's pen." — DRANE, *M.S. note*.



A briefe Apologie in defence of the generall proceedings of the Court, holden at *Boston* the ninth day of the first moneth, 1636, against Mr. *J. Wheelwright* a member there, by occasion of a Sermon delivered there in the same Congregation.¹



Orasmuch as some of the Members of the Court (both of the Magistrates and Deputies) did dissent from the major part, in the judgement of the cause of Mr. *Wheelwright*, and divers others have since censured the proceedings against him as unjust, or (at best) over hasty, for maintaining of which censures, many untruths are like to be spread abroad, whereby the

¹ "This 'Apology,' pp. 46-59, should, in the order of time, be placed *first* in this volume. It relates to the proceedings of the *G. Court*, not *Synod*, on *Wheelwright*, whose sermon preached on a Fast-day, Jan. 20 (*Win.* 1, 213), was pronounced *seditions*. It seems that a *Synod* had before been resolved upon, to consider the erroneous opinions abroad, and among the *preparations* for the *Synod*, the Fast-day was appointed. On this occasion *Wheelwright* preached his offensive sermon; see *Cotton's 'Way, &c. 'cleared,'* p. 40. At this court judgment was pronounced against him; but his sentence of dis-

franchisement and banishment was deferred till November court (*Mass. Rec.*, I. 207). *Winthrop* says (I. 221) 'an apology' was 'set forth' by the Magistrates 'to justify the sentence' (judgment he means, for *sentence* was not given against him till November 2) of the court against Mr. *Wheelwright*.' These proceedings, he says, 'were faithfully collected and published [not printed] soon after the court broke up' (I. 245). This document is probably the one referred to by *Winthrop*, and Mr. *Savage* supposes him to have been the author."
— *DRANE, MS. note.*

the most equall Judges may be in danger of prejudice; and so the honour not of the Court onely, but also of the tryall and justice it selfe may be blemished: It is thought needfull to make this publike Declaration of all the proceedings, with the reasons and grounds thereof, so farre as concerneth the clearing of the justice of the Court. As for such passages as fell by occasion, and are too large to be here inserted, such as desire to know them, may receive satisfaction from three or foure of *Boston* (being Mr. *Wheelwright* his speciall friends) who tooke all by Characters (we doubt not) will give a true report thereof; As for such as have taken offence, that the cause was not first referred to the Church, we desire them to consider these reasons.

1. This case was not matter of conscience, but of a civill nature, and therefore most proper for this Court, to take Cognizance of, and the rather for the speciall contempt which had beene offered to the Court therein, and which the Church could not judge of. 2. In some cases of religious nature, as manifest heresie, notorious blasphemy, &c. the Civill power may proceed, *Ecclesia inconsulta*, and that by the judgement of all the Ministers. 3. It had beene a vaine thing to referre a cause to the judgement of those who had openly declared their prejudice therein, both in the Court and otherwise, as by two Petitions under the hands of most of them, delivered into the Court on his behalfe, did plainly appeare. 4. The heat of contention and uncharitable censures which began to over-spread the Countrey, and that chiefly by occasion of that Sermon, and the like [47] miscarriages, did require that the Civill power should speedily allay that heat, and beare witnesse against all seditious

seditious courses, tending to the overthrow of truth and peace amongst us: this onely by way of entrance, to the matter which now followeth.

In the beginning of the Court, the Deputies upon the fame of a Sermon delivered by Mr. *Wheelwright* (upon the first day¹) which was supposed to tend to sedition, and disturbance of the publike peace, desired that he might be sent for, which the Court assenting unto, one of the Magistrates (his speciall friend) undertooke to give him notice thereof, and accordingly at the next meeting he was in the Towne, ready to appeare, when he should be called for, which was not till two or three dayes after, and then he was sent for (not by the Marshall, as the usual manner is; but) by one of the Deputies his intimate friend upon his appearance he was made acquainted with the cause why he was sent for, *viz.* To satisfie the Court about some passages in his Sermon, which seemed to be offensive, and therewith a copy of it was produced, and he was demanded whether he would owne it: whereupon he drew forth another copy which he delivered into the Court, as a true ccopy, (for the substance of it) so he was dismissed very gently, and desired to be ready when he should be called for againe.

The next day he was againe sent for by the former messenger: About this time a Petition was delivered into the Court, under the hands of above forty persons, being most of the Church of *Boston* (being none of the Petitions before mentioned, which were delivered after) to this effect, that as free-men they might be admitted to be present in the Court in causes of judicature, and that the Court would declare whether

¹ A misprint for "fast-day."

whether they might proceed in cafes of conscience, without referring them first to the Church. To this the Court answered on the backside of the Petition, that they did conceive the Petition was without just ground, for the first part of it, the Court had never used privacie in Judiciall proceedings, but in preparation thereto by way of examination of the party, &c. they might and would use their liberty, as they should see cause; and for the other part of the Petition, when any matter of conscience should come before them, they would advise what were fit to be done in it.

When Mr. *Wheelwright* came in, the Court was private, and then they told him they had considered of his Sermon, and were desirous to aske him some questions which might tend to cleare his meaning, about such passages therein as seemed offensive; he demanded whether he were sent for as an innocent person, or as guilty? It was answered neither, but as suspected onely; Then he demanded, who were his accusers? It was answered, his Sermon; (which was there in Court) being acknowledged by himselfe they might thereupon proceed, *ex officio*: at this word great exception was taken, as if the Court intended the course of the High Commission, &c. It was answered that the word *ex officio* was very safe and proper, signifying no more but the authority or duty of the Court, and that there was no cause of offence, seeing the Court did not examine him by any compulsory means, as by oath, imprisonment, or the like, but onely desired him for better satisfaction to answer some questions, but he still refused, yet at last through perswasion of some of his friends, he seemed content; The question then put to him was, whether before his Sermon he did not
know

know, that most of the Ministers in this jurisdiction did teach that doctrine which he in his Sermon called a Covenant of works; to this he said, he did not desire to answer, and hereupon some cried out, that the Court went about to ensnare him, and to make him to accuse himselfe, and that this question was not about the matter of his Sermon, &c. Upon this he refused to answer any further, so he was dismissed till the afternoone; The reason why the Court demanded that question of him, was not to draw matter from himselfe whereupon to proceed against him, neither was there any need, for upon a conference of the Ministers not long before there had beene large dispute betweene some of them and himselfe about that point of evidencing Justification by Sanctification,¹ so as the court might soone have convinced him by witnesses, if they had intended to proceed against him upon that ground.

In the afternoone he was sent for againe in the same manner as before, and the Ministers also being in the Towne, and come thither to conferre together for further discovery of the ground of the differences which were in the Countrey about the Covenant of Grace, &c. they were desired to be present also in the Court, to beare witnessse of the proceedings in the case, and to give their advice as the Court (upon occasion) should require: so the doores being set open for all that would to come in (and there was a great Assembly)

¹ The question whether "evident sanctification" could be accepted as "evidence of justification" was raised by the Rev. John Wilson in his discourse, or "very sad speech," addressed to the General Court in its December session of 1636 (Savage's *Winthrop*, Vol. I.

p. 209). It was finally passed upon as a tenet by the Synod of the following August. Throughout, Wheelwright was an active participant in the discussion, as a result of which Mr. Cotton and the rest of the elders "agreed, but Mr. Wheelwright did not" (ib. 233).

196 *The Antinomian Controversy.*

Assembly) and Mr. *Wheelewright* being willed to sit downe by the Ministers, his Sermon was produced, and many passages thereof was read to him, which for the better understanding we have digested into this order following.¹

X He therein describeth two Covenants, the Covenant of Grace and the Covenant of Works; the Covenant of Grace he describeth to be, when in the point of Justification and the knowledge of this our Justification by Faith, there is nothing revealed but Christ Jesus; but if men thinke to be saved, because they see some worke of Sanctification in themselves, as hungring and thirsting, &c. this is a Covenant of Works; if men have revealed to them some work of righteousnesse, as love to the brethren, &c. and hereupon come to be assured that they are in a good estate, this is not the assurance of Faith, for Faith hath Crist revealed for the object, therefore if the assurance of a mans Justification be by Faith, as a Work, it is not Gospel.

X Having thus described those who goe under a Covenant of Works, he pronounceth them to be enemies to Christ, to be Antichrists, to be flesh opposed to spirit; such as will certainly persecute those who hold forth the truth, and the wayes of Grace; he resembleth them to the Philistims, who stop up with the earth of their owne inventions, the Wels of true beleivers; he resembleth them also to *Herod*, who would have killed Christ so soone as he was borne, and to *Herod* and *Pilate* who did kill Christ when he came [49] once to shew forth himselfe, and would have kept him eternally in the grave; he further describeth them out of

¹ In regard to the bibliography of p. 150. It is there also printed in full this sermon, vide Bell's *Wheelewright*, (pp. 143-179).

of the second Psalme, to be the people of God as the Jewes were, and such as would take away the true Christ and put in false Christs, to deceive if it were possible the very elect; he also describeth them by that in *Cant.* 10. 6. they make the children of Grace keepers of the Vineyard, they make them travell under the burden of the Covenant of Works, which doth cause Christ many times from them. He cometh after to a use of exhortation, wherein he stirreth up all those of his side to a spirituall combate, to prepare for battel, and come out and fight against the enemies of the Lord; (those under a Covenant of Works) he shewes whom he meaneth thus to excite, alluding to *Davids* valiant men, to *Baruch, Deborah, Jael,* and all the men of *Israel,* and bind them hereunto under the curse of *Meroz*; He further exhorteth them to stand upon their guard, &c. by alluding to the 600 valiant men, who kept watch about the bed of *Solomon,* a type of Christ; then he encourageth those of his side against such difficulties as might be objected, as 1. If the enemies shall oppose the way of God, they must lay the more load on them, and kill them with the Word of the Lord; and there he alludeth to those places which speak of giving the Saints power over nations, binding Kings in chaines, and of threshing instruments with teeth, and foretels their flight by that in *Esay* 21. 15. They shall flee from the sword, &c.

2. Though the enemies under a Covenant of Works be many and strong (as he confesseth they are) yet they ought not to fear, for the battel is the Lords, this he enforceth by that in *Josh.* 23. 10. One of you shall chase a thousand, and that of *Jonathan* and his armour-bearer.

3. Against tenderneffe of heart, which they might have towards

towards such under a Covenant of Works, as are exceeding holy and strict in their way, he animateth his party by persuading them, that such are the greatest enemies to Christ; this he seekes to illustrate by resembling such in their zeale to *Paul* when he was a persecutor, and in their devotion to those who expelled *Paul* and *Barnabas* out of *Antioch*. He taketh it for granted that these holy men trust in their righteoufnesse, and that it thrusteth out the righteoufnesse of Christ, and so concludes and foretels from *Ezech. 33*. They shall die, and that their righteoufnesse is accursed, yet they transforme themselves (saith he) into Angels of light.

4. That his party might not feare lest he should breake the rule of meekenesse, &c. he bringeth in the example of *Stephen, Act. 7. 58.* and the example of Christ, *Yoh. 8. 44.* and *Matth. 23. 23.*

5. To those who might feare, lest this strife should cause a combustion in Church and Common-wealth, he answers and tells them plainely it will doe so, but yet to uphold their hearts, he armes them with the prediction of Christ, *Luk. 12. 49.* and tells them that it is the desire of the Saints, that that fire were kindled, and with that in *Esa. 9. 5.* which he interprets of *Michael* and the Angels, and with that in *Mal. 4. 2.* and by that in the Revelation, the whore must be burnt.

[50] 6. Hee armes them against perfecution by exhorting them not to love their lives unto the death, but be willing to be killed like sheepe, seeing it is impossible to hold forth the truth of God with externall peace and quietnesse: This he enforceth by the example of *Sampson*, who slew more at his death then in his life.

These
Shurwell

These passages of his Sermon being openly read, Master *Wheatwright* did acknowledge and justifie the same, and being demanded (either then or before) whether by those under a Covenant of workes hee did meane any of the Ministers and other Christians in those Churches, he answered, that if he were shewed any that walked in such a way, as he had described to be a Covenant of Workes, them he did meane. Here divers speeches passed up and downe, whereof there was no speciall notice taken, as not materiall to the purpose in hand. X

The Court proceeded also to examine some witnesses about another Sermon of his, whereat much offence had also beene taken, and not without cause, (as appeared to the Court) for in that he seemed to scare men not onely from legall righteousness, but even from faith and repentance, as if that also were a way of the Covenant of workes; but this being matter of Doctrine, the Court passed it by for the present, onely they (and the Ministers present, divers of them) declared their grieffe to see such opinions risen in the Country of so dangerous consequence, and so directly crossing the scope of the Gospell, (as was conceived) and it was retorted upon him which he in his Sermon chargeth his adverse party with, (though uncharitably and untruly) when he saith they would take away the true Christ, that to make good such a doctrine as he held forth (to common intendment) must needs call for a new Christ and a new Gospell, for sure the old would not owne or justifie it. X

Then the Court propounded a question to the Ministers, which (because they desired time of consideration to make answer unto) was given them in writing upon the outside of

Master

Master *Wheewrights* Sermon, in these words; *Whether by that which you have heard concerning Master Wheelwrights Sermon, and that which was witnessed concerning him, yee doe conceive that the Ministers in this Country doe walke in and teach such a way of Salvation and evidencing thereof, as he describeth, and accounteth to be a Covenant of workes?* To this question (being againe called for into the Court the next morning) they returned an affirmative answer, in the very words of the question, adding withall, that they would not be understood, that their doctrine and Master *Wheewrights* about Justification, and Salvation, and evidencing thereof, did differ in all things, but onely in the point presented, and debated now in Court, and that of this their answer they were ready to give reasons when the Court should demand them, and that to this they all consented, except their brother the teacher of *Boston*: After this (by leave of the Court) the Ministers all spake one by one in order, some more largely, laying open by solid arguments and notorious examples, the great dangers that the Churches and Civill State were falne into, by the differences which were growne amongst us in matters of Religion, offer-
 [51] ing themselves withall to employ all their studies to effect a reconciliation, shewing also their desires that Mr. *Wheewright* would be with them, when they should meete for this purpose, and blaming his former strangeness as a possible occasion of these differences of judgement. Others spake more briefly, but consented with the former; and all of them (as they had occasion to speake to Mr. *Wheewright*, or to make mention of him) used him with all humanity and respect; what his carriage was towards them
 againe

again, those who were present may judge, as they saw cause.

The matters objected against Mr. *Wheel.* being recollected, and put to the vote, the opinion of the Court was, that he had run into sedition and contempt of the Civill authority, which accordingly was recorded to the same effect, and he was enjoyned to appeare at the next generall Court to abide their further sentence herein.¹ And whereas motion was made of enjoyning him silence in the meane time, the Ministers were desired to deliver their advice what the Court might doe in such a case: Their answer was, that they could not give a cleare resolution of the question at the present, but for Mr. *Wheel.* they desired that the Court would rather referre him to the Church of *B.* to deale with him for that matter; which accordingly was done, and so he was dismissed: such of the Magistrates and Deputies, as had not concurred with the major part in the vote, (some of them) moved that the dissent might be recorded, (but it was denied) as a course never used in this or any such Court. Afterward they tendered a Protestation, which was also refused, because therein they had justified Mr. *Wheel.* as a faithfull Minister of the Lord Jesus, and condemned the Court for undue proceeding; but this was offered them, that if they would write downe the words of the record, and subscribe their dissent without laying such aspersion upon the Court, it should be received.

Although

¹ The fast-day sermon in question was preached on January 19, 1637; the proceedings referred to in the text occurred at the session of the General Court which began on the 9th of the

following March; and the "next generall Court" was to meet immediately after the charter election on the 17th of the next May.

Although the simple narration of these proceedings might be sufficient to justify the Court in what they have done, especially with these of this jurisdiction, who have taken notice of the passages in the generall Court in *Decem.* last, yet for satisfaction of others to whom this case may be otherwise presented by fame or misreport, we will set downe some grounds and reasons thereof, some whereof were expressed in the Court, and others (though not publickly insisted upon, yet) well conceived by some, as further motives to leade their judgments to doe as they did.

X And, 1. It is to be observed, that the noted differences in point of Religion in the Churches here, are about the Covenant of workes, in opposition to the Covenant of grace; in clearing whereof much dispute hath beene, whether sanctification be any evidence of justification.

2. That before Mr. *Wheel.* came into this country (which is not yet two yeares since) there was no strife (at least in publick observation) about that point.

3. That he did know (as himselfe confessed) that divers of the Ministers here were not of his Judgement in [52] those points, and that the publishing of them, would cause disturbance in the Country, and yet he would never conferre with the Ministers about them, that thereby he might have gained them to his opinion, (if it had beene the truth) or at least have manifested some care of the publick peace, which he rather seemed to slight, when being demanded in the Court a reason of such his failing, hee answered that he ought not to consult with flesh and bloud, about the publishing of that truth which he had received from God.

4. It

4. It was well knowne to him that the Magistrates and Deputies were very sensible of those differences, and studious of pacifying such mindes as began to be warme and apt to contention about them, and for this end at the said Court in *December*, (where these differences and alienations of minde through rash censures, &c. were sadly complained of) they had called in the Ministers, and (Mr. *Wheel.* being present) had desired their advice for discovery of such dangers, as did threaten us hereby, and their helpe for preventing thereof;¹ and it was then thought needefull, to appoint a solemne day of humiliation (as for other occasions more remote, so especially) for this which more neerely concerned us, and at this time this very point of evidencing justification by sanctification set into some debate, and Mr. *Wheel.* being present spake nothing, though he well discerned that the judgement of most of the Magistrates and neere all the Ministers closed with the affirmative.

5. That upon the said fast (Mr. *Wheel.* being desired by the Church to exercise as a private brother, by way of Prophecy) when Mr. *Cotton* teaching in the afternoon out of *Esa.* 58. 4. had shewed that it was not a fit worke for a day of Fast, to move strife & debate, to provoke to contention, &c. but by all means to labour pacification and reconciliation, and therein had bestowed much time, and many forcible

¹ "Mr. Willson made a very sad speech of the condition of our churches" (*Savage's Wintthrop*, Vol. I. p. * 209). "The speech of Mr. Willson was taken very ill by Mr. Cotton and others of the same church, so as he and divers of them went to admonish him" (*Jb.* p. * 210). March 9, 1637, "the general

court began . . . by the vote of the greater party [Mr. Willson's] speech was approved, and declared to have been a seasonable advice, and no charge or accusation. The ministers, being called to give advice about the authority of the court in things concerning the churches, etc." (*Jb.* * 214).

forcible arguments, yet Mr. *Wheel.* speaking after him,
 X taught as is here before mentioned, wholly omitting those
 particular occasions which the Court intended, nay rather
 reproving them, in teaching that the onely cause of Fasting,
 was the absence of Christ, &c. and so notwithstanding the
 occasion of the day, Mr. *Cottons* example, the intent of the
 X Court for procuring peace, he stirred up the people to
 contention, and that with more then ordinary vehemency.
 Now if any man will equally weigh the proceedings of the
 Court and these observations together, we hope it will
 appeare that Mr. *Wheelwright* was justly convict of sedition
 and contempt of authority, and such as have not leifure or
 will to compare them together, may onely reade that which
 here followeth, and receive satisfaction thereby, carrying this
 along with them, that the acts of authority holding forth
 the face, and stampe of a divine sentence should not be lesse
 regarded then the actions of any private brother, which a
 good man will view on all foure sides before he judge them
 to be evill.

Sedition and contempt are laid to his charge.

Sedition doth properly signifie a going aside to make a
 party, and is rightly described by the Poet, (for it is
 X [53] lawfull to fetch the meaning of words from humane
 authority) *In magno populo cum saepe coorta est seditio
 savitque animis,*¹ &c. whence it doth appeare that when the
 X minds of the people being assembled are kindled or made
 fierce upon some suddaine occasion, so as they fall to take
 part one against another, this is sedition; for when that
furor

¹ *Æneid*, l. 148.

furor, which doth *arma ministrare*, is once kindled, the sedition is begun, though it come not to its perfection, till *faces et saxa volant*: Tully saith, *Seditionem, esse dissensionem omnium inter se, cum eunt alii in aliud*,¹ when the people dissent in opinion and goe severall wayes.

Isidore saith, *Seditiosus est, qui dissensionem animorum facit & discordias gignit*,² He that sets mens minds at difference, and begets strife: And if we look into the Scripture we shall find examples of sedition agreeing to these descriptions. The uproare moved by *Demetrius*, *Acts* 19. was sedition, yet he neither took up armes, nor perswaded others so to doe, but onely induced the minds of the people, and made them fierce against the Apottles, by telling them they were enemies to *Diana* of the *Ephesians*. *Korah* and his company moved a most dangerous sedition,³ yet they did not stirre up the people to fight, onely they went apart and drew others to them against *Moses* and *Aaron*; here was nothing but words, and that by a Levite, who might speake by his place, but it cost more then words before it was pacified. Now in our present case, did not Mr. *Wheel*. make sides when he proclaimed all to be under a Covenant of works, who did not follow him (step by step) in his description of the Covenant of Grace? did he not make himselfe a party on the other side, by often using these and the like words, We, us? Did he not labour to heat the minds of the people, and to make them fierce against those of that side, which he

¹ Apparently from *De Republica*, vi. 1. 1. The correct reading is, *Etque dissensio civium quod fortis eunt alii ad alios, seditio dicitur*.

² *Corpus Grammaticorum*, ed. Lin.

deumann, III. p. 345. no. 250. The correct reading is, *seditiosus, qui dissensionem animorum facit et discordias gignit quam Græci dissensio dicunt*.

³ Numbers xvi.

he opposed (and whereof he knew that most of the Magistrates and Ministers had declared themselves) when with the greatest fervency of spirit and voyce, he proclaimes them Antichrists, enemies, Philistims, *Herod, Pilate*, persecuting Jewes, and stirred up them on his part to fight with them, to lay load on them, to burne them, to thresh them, to bind them in chaines and fetters, to kill them and vexe their hearts, and that under the paine of the curse of *Meros*?¹ *Tantane animis caelestibus iræ*?² would one thinke that any heavenly spirit could have breathed so much anger, when an Angel would have given milder language to the Devill himselve? and all this without vouchsafing one argument to convince these enemies of their evil way, or one word of admonition or advice to themselves, to draw them out of danger. But it is objected, that he expressed his meaning to be of a spirituall fighting and killing, &c. with the sword of the spirit onely. It is granted he did so, yet his instances of illustration, or rather enforcement, were of another nature, as of *Moses* killing the Egyptian in defence of his brother, *Sampson* losing his life with the Philistims, the fight of *Jonathan* and his armour-bearer, and of *Dauids* worthies, *Baruc* and *Jaeh*, &c. these obtained their victories with swords and hammers, &c. And such are no spirituall weapons, so that if his intent were not to stirre up to open force and armes (neither doe we suspect him of any such purpose, other-
 X [54] wise then by consequent) yet his reading and experience might have told him, how dangerous it is to heat peoples affections against their opposites, a mind inflamed with indignation (among some people) would have beene more
 apt

¹ *Judges* v. 23.² *Aeneid*, l. 11.

apt to have drawne their swords by the authority of the examples he held forth for the encouragement, then to have beene kept to spirituall weapons, by the restraining without cautions, such as cannot dispute for Christ with *Steven*, will be ready to draw their swords for him, like *Peter*; for *furor arma ministrat*,¹ like him who when he could not by any sentence in the Bible confute an Heretick, could make use of the whole booke to break his head; we might hold forth instances more then enough. The warres in *Germany* for these hundred yceres arose from dissentions in Religion, and though in the beginning of the contention, they drew out onely the sword of the Spirit, yet it was soone changed into a sword of steele; so was it among the confederate Cantons of *Helvetia*, which were so many Townes as neerely combined together, as ours here; so was it also in the *Netherlands* betweene the Orthodox and the *Arminians*; so hath it beene betweene the *Calvinists* and *Lutherans*: In every place we find that the contentions began first by disputations and Sermons, and when the minds of the people were once set on fire by reproachfull termes of incendiary spirits, they soone set to blowes, and had alwayes a tragical and boudy² issue; And to cleare this objection, Mr. *Wheel.* professed before hand, what he looked for, *vis.* that his doctrine would cause combustions even in the Common-wealth, as well as in the Churches, which he could not have feared if he had supposed (as in charity he well might) that those who were set over the people here in both States were indeed true *Christians*; yea he not onely confesseth his expectation, but his earnest desire also of such combustions and disturbances, when

¹ *Æneid*, l. 150.

² A misprint for "bloody."

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when he saith that it is the Saints desire to have the fire kindled, as if hee were come among Turks or Papists, and not among the Churches of Christ, amongst whom *Paul* laboured to quench all fire of contention, but with the *Corinthians, Romans, and Galatians*, and wished that those were cut off who troubled them, setting a mark upon such as made division, and a note of a carnall mind: therefore this objection will not save him, his offence is yet without excuse, hee did intend to trouble our peace, and hee hath effected it; therefore it was a contempt of that authority which required every man to study Peace and Truth, and therefore it was a seditious contempt, in that hee stirred up others, to joyn in the disturbance of that peace, which hee was bound by solemn Oath to preserve.

But here hee puts in a plea, that hee did take the only right way for Peace, by holding out the Lord Jesus Christ in the Covenant of free Grace, for without Christ there is no peace, but get Christ and wee have all.

To this wee reply, first, Wee would demand of him what hee accounts a holding forth a Covenant of Grace? for saving that hee saith, this is a Covenant of Grace, that is a Covenant of Works, no man can discern any such thing by his proofes, for there is not any one argument in his Sermon to convince the judgement that so it is, and [55] if wee search the Scripture, wee find in the Old Testament, *Jer. 31.* the Covenant of Grace to bee this, I will write my Law in their hearts, or, I will bee their God, &c. and in the New Testament, wee find, Hee that beleeves in the Lord Jesus Christ, shall bee saved, and that it is of Faith, that it might bee of grace; but other Covenant

Covenant of Grace then these, or to the same effect, are not in our Bibles.

Again, Though it be true, that get Christ and wee have all in some respect,¹ yet wee must remember him of what hee said with the same breath, that Truth and externall Peace cannot possibly stand together, how then would hee have us beleieve, that such a holding forth Christ should bring the desired peace? This is somewhat like the Jewish *Corban*,² I will give to God, and hee shall help my Parents, or as when a poore man stands in need of such reliefe, as I might give him, instead there of I pray to God to blesse him, and tell him that the blessing of God maketh rich; or, as I give a Lawyer a Fee to plead my cause and to procure mee Justice, and when the day of hearing comes, hee makes a long speech in commending the justice of the King, and perswading mee to get his favour, because hee is the fountain of Justice; This is to reprove the wisdom of God, by looking that the supreme and first cause should produce all effects, without the use of subordinate aed³ neerer causes and means; so a man should live out his full time by Gods decree only, without meat or medicine; this plea therefore will not hold, let us heare another.

It

¹ Apparently there was here a misprint, or wrong reading of copy. Some words seem to have been omitted. Possibly the manuscript may have read, "Though it be true that [many do forget Christ, and we have all in some respect," etc. There is nothing in that portion of Wheelwright's discourse next referred to which throws light on the correct reading of the text. Wheelwright's words are: "It is impossible to hold out the truth of God with externall

peace and quietnes, if we will p'vaile, if we be called, we must be willing to lay downe our lives," etc.

² "But ye say, If a man shall say to his father or his mother, That wherewith thou mightest have been profited by me is Corban, that is to say, Given to God; ye no longer suffer him to do aught for his father or his mother."—*Mark* vii. 11, 12 (Revised Version).

³ and.

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It is objected, that the Magistrates may not appoint a messenger of God, what hee should teach: admit so much, yet hee may limit him what hee may not teach, if hee forbid him to teach heresy or sedition, &c. hee incurres as well a contempt in teaching that which hee was forbidden, as sins in teaching that which is evill. Besides, every truth is not seasonable at all times. Christ tels his Disciples that hee had many things to teach them, but they could not beare them then, *Joh. 16. 12.* and God giveth his Prophets the tongue of the learned, that they may know how to speak a word in season, *Isa. 50. 40.* and if for every thing there be a season, then for every Doctrine, *Eccles. 3. 1.* [The abolishing of the ceremoniall Law was a Truth which the Apostles were to teach, yet there was a season when *Paul* did refrain it, *Acts 21. 24.* and the same *Paul* would not circumcise *Titus*, though hee did *Timothy*, so the difference of persons and places, made a difference in the season of the doctrine: and if Mr. *Wheelwright* had looked upon the words which followed in his Text, *Matth. 9. 16, 17.* hee might have learned that such a Sermon would as ill suite the season, as old bottles doe new Wine, and by that in *Esay* before mentioned, hee might have known that the Spirit of God doth teach his servants to discern of seasons, as well as of truths; for if there be such a point in wisdom, as men call discretion, sure, Religion (which maketh truely wise) doth not deprive the servants of God of the right use thereof. When *Paul* was to deale with the forcerer, who did oppose his doctrine, *Act. 13.* hee calls him the childe of the devill, &c. but when hee answered *Festus*, (who told him hee was madde, and rejected his doctrine also) hee useth him gently, and with

termes

termes of honourable respect. Though *Steven* calls [56] the Jews stiffnecked, and of uncircumcised hearts, &c. as knowing them to bee malicious and obstinate enemies to Christ, yet *Paul* directs *Timothy* (being to deale with such as were not past hope, though they did oppose his Doctrine for the present) not to strive, but to use all gentleness, instructing them with meeknesse, &c. *2 Tim. 2.* The Prophet *Elisha* when hee speaks to *Jehoram* very roughly, as one not worthy to bee looked at, yet hee shews a different respect of *Jehosaphat*, though hee were then out of his way, and under a sin, for which hee had been formerly reprov'd, *2 King. 3.* Christ himselve (though hee sharply reproveth the Pharisees, &c. yet hee instructeth *Nicodemus* gently, when hee objected against his doctrine, and that somewhat rudely, *Joh. 3.* The Apostles would not forbear to Preach Christ, though Rulers forbad them, *Act. 3.* yet another Prophet forbare at another season at the command of King *Amasia*, *2 Chron. 25.* so wee see that this plea of Mr. *Wheelwright* is as weak as the former, and will not excuse him from contempt.

If it bee yet objected, that his Sermon was not all for contention, seeing hee raised and pressed an use of brotherly love, wee grant hee did so, but it was *ejusdem farinae*, a loafe of the same leaven with the other, for hee applyeth it to those of his own party, to perswade them to hold together, and help one another against those of the other party, whom hee setteth forth as their opposites and encourageth them thereto by the example of *Moses*, who in love to his brother, killed the *Egyptian*.

A further objection hath been made against the proceed-

ings

ings of the Court, as if Mr. *Wheelwright* had not a lawfull tryall, as not being put upon a Jury of freemen. But the answer to this is casie, it being wel known to all such as have understanding of matters of this nature, that such Courts as have power to make and abrogate Laws, are tyed to no other Orders, but their own, and to no other rule but Truth and Justice, and why thrice twelve men sitting as Judges in a Court, should bee more subject to partiality then twelve such called as a Jury to the barre, let others judge.

Now if some shall gather from that which is here before mentioned, *viz.* that every truth is not seasonable at all times, if wee shall grant that what Master *Wheelwright* delivered was the truth, wee must desire him to take onely so much as wee granted, *viz.* by way of supposition onely; for letting passe (as wee said) such points as were meerly doctrinall, and not ripe for the Court (depending as yet in examination among the Elders) wee may safely deny that those speeches were truths, which the Court censured for contempt and sedition, for a brother may fall so farre into disobedience to the Gospel, as there may bee cause to separate from him, and to put him to shame, and yet hee is not to bee accounted an enemy, *2 Theff. 3.* Therefore when Mr. *Wheelwright* pronounced such (taking them at the worst hee could make them) to bee enemies, &c. it was not according to the truth of the Gospell. Againe, to incense and heate mens minds against their Brethren, before hee had [57] convinced or admonished them, as being in an estate of enmity, &c. is not to bee termed in any truth of the Gospel; so likewise to bring extraordinary examples for ordinary rules, as of *Joh. 8. 44.* to incite his party to the like

like practise against such whose hearts they cannot judge of, as Christ could of theirs to whom hee spake, is as farre from the rule prescribed to ordinary Ministers, 2 *Tim.* 2. 25.¹ and to all Christians, *Gal.* 6. 1.² and *Jam.* 3. 17.³ as that example of *Elijah* (by which the Apostles would have called for fire from heaven upon the Samaritans) was different from the Spirit whereof they were: so to resemble such among us, as professe their faith in Christ only, &c. and are in Church fellowship, and walk inoffensively, submitting to all the Lords Ordinances in Church and Common wealth, to resemble such to branded Reprobates, and arch-enemies of Christ, such as *Herod*, &c. wee suppose hath no warrant of Truth. Wee might instance in other like passages, as his ordinary inciting to spirituall combates, by examples of bodily fight and bloody victories, (being very unfutable) but these may suffice to prove that all hee spake was not true, and by this is the offence more aggravated, for if it were seditious only in the manner, it must needs bee much worse, when the matter it selfe also was untrue.

But if any shall yet pretend want of satisfaction, by all that hath been produced, (for indeed it is beyond reason, how farre prejudice hath prevailed to captivate some judgments, otherwise godly and wise) and shal object further, that his doctrines, &c. were generall, and so could not bee intended

¹ "24 And the servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient,

"25 In meekness instructing those that oppose themselves."

² "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness;

considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted."

³ "But the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy."

intended of any particular persons, wee desire such, first to remember what application Mr. *Wh.* made of the same in the open Court, *vis.* that hee did intend all such as walked in such a way. Then again, let the case bee put in a reversed frame, some other had then taught, that all such as deny that sanctification (as it is held by the other party) is a good evidence of justification, and that say or have¹ their assurance by faith, as a work of God in them, have it in the way of the Gospel, that these were enemies to Christ, &c. Persecutors of the way of grace, &c. and should have stirred up others against them, with like arguments, and vehemency as Mr. *Wheelewright* did, there is no doubt but Mr. *Wheel.* and others of his opinion, would soone have pointed out those who must necessarily have been intended by it: for it is well known that some proper adjunct, or some noted circumstance may design a particular person or company, as well as names, so Christ points out *Judas* by the sop,² *Paul* the Jews, by those of the circumcision,³ and the Antichrist, by That man of sin,⁴ &c.

X But wee meet yet with another objection, *vis.* that disturbance of unity is not sedition, except it also lead to the hurt of utility.

To this wee answer, first, that if it tend immediately to such hurt, wee deny the truth of the proposition; for if in the time of famine, a man should stir up the people to fetch corn out of the houses of such as had it to spare, this were to an immediate publick good, yet it were sedition. If *Jeremy* (when hee taught the Jews, that they ought to set free their

¹ This is obscure: but apparently it should read in the sense of "claim to have, or have their assurance," etc.

² *John* xiii. 26-30.

³ *Titus* i. 10.

⁴ *2 Thessalonians* ii. 3.

their Hebrew servants¹⁾ had also incited the servants [58] to free themselves, this had not been free from sedition, yet it had not been against publick utility: But they alledge the examples of *Jehojadah*, who caused a disturbance, yet without sedition;² wee answer, that case was very unlike to ours, for *Jehojadah* being High Priest, was also protector of the true King, and so chiefe Governour of the Civill State, and *Athaliah* being a meere usurper, hee did no other, then if a lawfull King should assemble his Subjects to apprehend a Rebell; and though a Prince or Governour may raise a party to suppress or withstand publick enemies or other evils, yet it doth not follow that a private man, or a Minister of the Gospel may do the like: we read *Nehem.* 5. 7. that hee raised a great assembly against those who did oppresse their brethren, but wee read not that *Esra* did so, upon the disorders which hee complained of, and yet that which hee did in assembling of the people, for redresse, &c. was by authority and counsell of the Nobles, *Esra* 10. 8.

2. That this course of Mr. *Wheel.* did tend directly to the great hinderance of publike utility, for when brethren shall looke one at another as enemies and persecutors, &c. and when people shall looke at their Rulers and Ministers as such, and as those who goe about to take Christ and salvation from them, how shall they joyne together in any publike service? how shall they cohabite and trade together? how hardly will they submit to such Over-seers? how will it hinder all affaires in Courts, in Townes, in Families, in Vessels at Sea, &c. and what can more threaten the dissolution and ruine of Church and Commonwealth? Lastly, if it be alleadged

¹ *Jeremiah* xxxiv. 12-22.

² *2 Kings* xl. ; *2 Chronicles* xxxiii.

alleaged that such warlike termes are used by Christ and his Apostles in a spirituall sense, we deny it not, but we desire that the usuall manner of their applying them may be also considered, for *Paul* saith, *1 Cor.* 9. So fight I, &c. I beate downe my body, &c. *1 Tim.* 6. 12. Fight the good fight of faith, lay hold on eternall life, and *1 Pct.* 2. 11. and *Yam.* 4. 1. there is speech of the fight of our lusts, and *Ephes.* 6. 11. he bids them put on armour, but it is to resist the Devill, not flesh and blood, not to fight against their brethren, towards whom he forbids all bitterness and clamour, &c. *Eph.* 4. And when he speaks of spirituall weapons, *2 Cor.* 10. he doth not draw them out against the persons of brethren, but against high thoughts and imaginations, &c. And if Mr. *Wheel.* had found out any such among us, and planted his battery against them by sound arguments, he had followed our Apostolike rule; Christ indeed threatneth to fight against the Nicholaitans with the sword of his mouth,¹ and if Mr. *Wheel.* had knowne any such here, as certainly as Christ knew those, he might have beene justified by the example, otherwise not.

Therefore to conclude, seeing there be of those who dissent from Mr. *Wheel.* his doctrines, who have denied themselves for the love of Christ as farre as he hath done, and will be ready (by Gods grace) to doe and suffer for the sake of Christ, and the honour of Free-grace as much as himselfe, for such to be publicly defamed, and held forth as [59] enemies to the Lord Jesus, and persecutors like *Herod* and *Pilate*, and the uncircumcised heathen, &c. cannot proceed from a charitable mind, nor doth it favour of an Apostolike, Gospel-like, brotherly spirit.

Mistris

¹ *Revelations* ii. 16.

Mistress *Hutchison* being banished and confined, till the season of the yeere might be fit, and safe for her departure; she thought it now needlesse to conceale herselfe any longer, neither would Satan lose the opportunity of making choyce of so fit an instrument, so long as any hope remained to attaine his mischievous end in darkning the saving truth of the Lord Jesus, and disturbing the peace of his Churches. Therefore she began now to discover all her mind to such as came to her, so that her opinions came abroad and began to take place among her old disciples, and now some of them raised up questions about the immortality of the soule, about the resurrection, about the morality of the Sabbath, and divers others, which the Elders finding to begin to appeare in some of their Churches, they took much paines (both in publike and private) to suppress; and following the sent from one to another, the root of all was found to be in Mistress *Hutchison*; whereupon they resorted to her many times, labouring to convince her, but in vaine; yet they resorted to her still, to the end they might either reclaime her from her errours, or that they might beare witness against them if occasion were: For in a meeting of the Magistrates and Elders, about suppressing these new sprung errours, the Elders of *Boston* had declared their readinesse to deale with Mistress *Hutchison* in a Church way, if they had sufficient testimony: for though she had maintained some of them sometimes before them, yet they thought it not so orderly to come in as witnesses; whereupon other of the Elders, and others collecting which they had heard from her owne mouth at severall times, drew them into severall heads, and sent them to the Church of *Boston*, whereupon

X the Church (with leave of the Magistrates, because she was a prisoner) sent for her to appear upon a Lecture day, being the fifteenth of the first moneth, and though she were at her owne house in the Towne, yet she came not into the Assembly till the Sermon and Prayer were ended, (pretending bodily infirmity) when she was come, one of the ruling Elders called her forth before the Assembly, (which was very great from all the parts of the Countrey) and telling her the cause why the Church had called her, read the severall heads, which were as followeth.

- X 1. That the soules of all men (in regard of generation) are mortall like the beasts, *Ecccl.* 3. 8.
- X 2. That in regard of Christs purchase they are immortall, so that Christ hath purchased the soules of the wicked to eternall paine, and the soules of the elect to eternall peace.
- X 3. Those who are united to Christ have in this life new bodies, and 2 bodies, 1 *Cor.* 6. 19. she knowes not how Jesus Christ should be united to this our fleshly bodies.
- X 4. Those who have union with Christ, shall not rise with the same fleshly bodies, 1 *Cor.* 15. 44.
- [60] 5. And that the resurrection mentioned there, and in *John* 5. 28. is not meant of the resurrection of the body, but of our union here and after this life.
- X 6. That there are no created graces in the Saints after their union with Christ, but before there are, for Christ takes them out of their hands into his owne.
- X 7. There are no created graces in the humane nature of Christ, but he was onely acted by the power of the God-head.
8. The Image of God wherein *Adam* was made, she could see

see no Scripture to warrant that it consisted in holiness, but conceived it to be in that he was made like to Christs manhood. | >

9. She had no Scripture to warrant that Christs manhood is now in Heaven, but the body of Christ is his Church. X

10. We are united to Christ with the same union, that his humanity on earth was with the Deity, *Jo. 17. 21.* ✓

11. She conceived the Disciples before Christ his death were not converted, *Matth. 18. 3.*

12. There is no evidence to be had of our good estate, either from absolute or conditionall promises. X

13. The Law is no rule of life to a Christian. X

14. There is no Kingdome of Heaven in Scripture but onely Christ. X

15. There is first engraffing into Christ before union, from which a man might fall away.

15. The first thing God reveals to assure us is our election.

17 That *Abraham* was not in a saving estate till the 22. chap. of *Gen.* when hee offered *Isaac*, and saving the firmesse of Gods election, he might have perished notwithstanding any work of grace that was wrought in him till then. |

18. That union to Christ is not by faith. || X

19. That all commands in the word are Law, and are not a way of life, and the command of faith is a Law; and therefore killeth; she supposed it to be a Law from *Rom. 3. 27.* X

20. That there is no faith of Gods elect but assurance, there is no faith of dependance but such as an hypocrite may have and fall away from, proved *John 15.* for by that she said they are in Christ; but Christ is not in them. X

21. That

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X 21. That an hypocrite may have *Adams* righteousness and perish, and by that righteousness he is bound to the Law, but in union with Christ, Christ comes into the man, and he retains the seed, and dieth, and then all manner of grace in himselfe, but all in Christ.

22. There is no such thing as inherent righteousness.

23. We are not bound to the Law, no not as a rule of life.

X 24. We are dead to all acts in spirituall things, and are onely acted by Christ.

X 25. Not being bound to the Law, it is not transgression against the Law to sinne, or breake it, because our finnes they are inward and spirituall, and so are exceeding sinfull, and onely are against Christ.

X 26. Sanctification can be no evidence at all of our good estate.

X 27. That her particular revelations about future events are as infallible as any part of Scripture, and that she is bound as much to beleve them, as the Scripture, for the same holy Ghost is the author of them both.

28. That so farre as a man is in union with Christ, he can doe no duties perfectly, and without the communion of the unregenerate part with the regenerate.

29. That such exhortations as these, to worke out our salvation with feare, to make our calling and election sure, &c. are spoken onely to such, as are under a Covenant of workes.

All which she did acknowledge she had spoken, (for a copy of them had been sent to her divers dayes before, and the witnesses hands subscribed, so as she saw it was in vaine to deny

deny them) then she asked by what rule such an Elder could come to her pretending to desire light, and indeed to entrappe her, to which the same Elder answered that he had bene twice with her, and that he told her indeed at *St. Ives*, that he had bene troubled at some of her speeches in the Court, wherein he did desire to see light for the ground and meaning of them, but he professed in the presence of the Lord, that he came not to entrap her, but in compassion to her Soule, to helpe her out of those snares of the Devill, wherein he saw she was entangled, and that before his departure from her he did beare witnesse against her opinions, and against her spirit, and did leave it sadly upon her from the word of God; then presently she grew into passion against her Pastor for his speech against her at the Court after the sentence was passed, which he gave a full answer unto, shewing his zeale against her errors, whereupon she asked for what errors she had bene banished, professing withall that she held none of these things she was now charged with, before her imprisonment; (supposing that whatsoever should be found amisse, would be imputed to that, but it was answered as the truth was, that she was not put to durance, but onely a favourable confinement, so as all of her Family and divers others, resorted to her at their pleasure.) But this allegation was then proved false, (and at her next convention more fully) for there were divers present, who did know she spake untruth. Her answer being demanded to the first Articles, she maintained her assertion that the Soules were mortall, &c. alledging the place in the *Eccles.* cited in the Article, and some other Scriptures nothing to the purpose, she insisted much upon that in *Gen. 1.* In the
day

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day thou eatest, &c. thou shalt dye, she could not see how a Soule could be immortally miserable, though it might be eternally miserable, neither could shee distinguish betweene the Soule and the Life; and though she were pressed by many Scriptures and reasons alleadged by the Elders of the same, and other Churches, so as she could not give any answer to them, yet she stood to her opinion, till at length a stranger¹ being desired to speake to the point, and hee [62] opening to her the difference betweene the Soule and the Life, the first being a spirituall substance, and the other the union of that with the body; she then confessed she saw more light then before, and so with some difficulty was brought to confesse her error in that point. Wherein was to be observed that though he spake to very good purpose, and so clearely convinced her as she could not gain-say, yet it was evident shee was convinced before, but she could not give the honour of it to her owne Pastor or teacher, nor

X¹ The "stranger" was probably the Rev. John Davenport, at the time a guest of John Cotton. John Davenport was born in England in 1597, and died in Boston March 15, 1670. Having been for two years (1633-35) settled in Holland as colleague of the Rev. John Paget, pastor of the English Church at Amsterdam, he came to New England in 1637, reaching Boston on the 20th of June, in the midst of the Antinomian excitement. He took an active part in the Cambridge Synod of the following September; but in March, 1638, at the time of the occurrence of the events referred to in the text, having perfected all his arrangements, was about to migrate to Connecticut in company with many of those who had come with him

from England, being, in the language of Cotton Mather, "more fit for Zebulon's ports than for Isachar's tents" (*Genesis* xlix. 13; *Numbers* ii. 3). In 1667 the Rev. John Wilson died; and the church of Boston then extended a call to Davenport, who accepted it, and continued pastor of that church until his death some two years later. No biography of Davenport has been prepared; but full notices of him will be found in the biographical cyclopedias, and more extended accounts in the *Magnalia* (B. III. chap. iv.), in Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary* (Vol. II. p. 12), and in Ellis's *First Church of Boston* (pp. 102-118). *Vide* also the several histories of Connecticut and New Haven, and Hill's *Hist. of Old South Church* (Boston).

nor to any of the other Elders, whom she had so much slighted.

Then they proceeded to the third, fourth, and fifth Articles, about the body and the resurrection of the old, which shee maintained according to the Articles, and though shee were not able to give any reasonable answer to the many places of the Scripture, and other arguments which were brought to convince her, yet shee still persisted in her error, giving froward speeches to some that spake to her, as when one of the Elders used this argument, that if the resurrection were only our union with Christ, then all that are united, are the children of the resurrection, and therefore are neither to marry, nor to give in marriage, and so by consequence, there ought to be community of women;¹ shee told him that hee spake like the Pharisees, who said that Christ had a devill, because that *Abraham* were dead and the Prophets, and yet hee had said, that those which eat his flesh, should never dye, not taking the speech in the true meaning, so did hee (said shee) who brought that argument, for it is said there, they should be like the Angels, &c. The Elders of *Boston* finding her thus obstinate, propounded to the Church for an admonition to be given her, to which all the Church consented, except two of her sons, who because they persisted to defend her, were under admonition also.² Mr. *Cotton* gave the

¹ *Infra*, pp. 301, 314.

² "Now I am upon this head, I shall desire to make a little digression, before I proceed to any more heads. Mr. *Edwards* in a Sermon at *Colchester* laid down this *Thesis*.

"That there was no such tyrannical government in any Church (unless

it were in the Church of Rome) as is in the Independent Churches; he proved it thus, *They carry all things by the suffrage of the people, and if all do not consent, they will censure them; how he will prove this? a speciall example, in the Church of Boston in New England, when they excommunicated*

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the admonition, and first to her sons, laying it sadly upon them, that they would give such way to their naturall affection, as for preserving her honour, they should make a breach upon the honour of Christ, and upon their Covenant with the Church, and withall teare the very bowels of their soule, by hardning her in her sin: In this admonition to her, first, hee remembred her of the good way shee was in at her first comming, in helping to discover to divers, the false bottom they stood upon, in trusting to legall works without Christ; then hee shewed her, how by falling into these grosse and fundamentall errors, shee had lost the honour of her former service

Mrs. Hutchinson; because her owne sonne did not joyne in the casting out of his owne mother, he was likewise censured; an unnatural thing, said he, and so carried it, that both his owne friends, and other Ministers, who were strangers, thought he was also excommunicated, as they told me when I spake with them.

"The story doth something concerne the head I am upon, and therefore I make bold to insert it here. I was a little troubled at the passage, knowing well how things were carried, being present at that time, and so tooke occasion some few weeks after, to give a bare narrative how the thing was carried with so much meeknesse, I am sure as none could accuse me. The summe is this, When all wayes according to the word had beene tryed with Mrs. Hutchinson to recall her, but none would prevaile, the question was put to the Church to manifest consent for her excommunication; her sonne and sonne-in-law (one more then Mr. Edwards mentioned) stood up to put some stop

in the way (had they fate still, as any body would have expected, though they had suspended their votes, I know not who would have spoken one word to them) Mr. Cotton rose up, and gave them a grave admonition, that though their naturall affection might now worke, for which hee did not blame them, yet he would not have them preferre their mother before Christ, nor hinder their mother from that Ordinance, which might bee a meanes to save her soule; with these words they both fate downe: they never had any other censure (if this be a censure) and the Church proceeded in her excommunication. Now I appeale unto all, to judge where was the tyranny in this act? yet though I carried this with all mildnesse, this was the onely cause why Mr. Edwards raked up all he could against me, and put it into print, even such things as never were in my thoughts. But here you may see, they stand not upon the suffrage of all the people."—GILES FIRMIN, *Separation Examined*, pp. 101, 102.

service, and done more wrong to Christ and his Church, then formerly shee had done good, and so laid her sin to her conscience with much zeale and solemnity, hee admonished her also of the height of spirit, then hee spake to the sisters of the Church, and advised them to take heed of her opinions, and to with-hold all countenance and respects from her, lest they should harden her in her sin: so shee was dismissed and appointed to appeare againe that day sevensnight.

The Court had ordered that shee should return to *Roxbury* again, but upon intimation that her spirit began to fall, shee was permitted to remain at Mr. *Cottons* house (where *Davenport* was also kept) who before her next appearing, did both take much pains with her, and prevailed [63] so far, that shee did acknowledge her error in all the Articles (except the last) and accordingly shee wrote down her answers to them all, when the day came, and shee was called forth and the Articles read again to her, shee delivered in her answers in writing, which were also read, and being then willing to speak to the Congregation for their further satisfaction, shee did acknowledge that shee had greatly erred, and that God had left her to her self herein, because shee had so much under-natured his Ordinances, both in slighting the Magistrates at the Court, and also the Elders of the Church, and confessed that when shee was at the Court, shee looked only at such failings as shee apprehended in the Magistrates proceedings, without having regard to the place they were in, and that the speeches shee then used about her revelations were rash, and without ground, and shee desired the prayers of the Church for her.

Thus farre shee went on well, and the Assembly conceived

hope

X hope of her repentance, but in her answers to the severall articles, shee gave no satisfaction, because in diverse of them shee answered by circumlocutions, and seemed to lay all the faults in her expressions, which occasioned some of the Elders to desire shee might expresse her self more clearly, and for that ever shee was demanded about the Article, whether shee were not, or had not been of that judgement, that there is no inherent righteoufnesse in the Saints, but those gifts and graces which are ascribed to them that are only in Christ as the subject? to which shee answered, that shee was never of that judgement, howsoever by her expressions shee might seem to bee so; and this shee affirmed with such confidence as bred great astonishment in many, who had known the contrary, and diverse alledged her own sayings and reasonings, both before her confinement and since, which did manifest to all that were present, that shee knew that shee spake untruth, for it was proved that shee had alledged that in *Esay* 53. By his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many; which shee had maintained to bee meant of a knowledge in Christ, and not in us; so likewise that in *Galatians*,¹ I live by the faith of the Son of God, which shee said was the faith of Christ, and not any faith inherent

X in us; also, that shee had maintained, that Christ is our sanctification in the same sort that hee is our justification, and that shee had said, that shee would not pray for grace, but for Christ, and that (when she had been pressed with diverse Scriptures, which spake of washing and creating a new heart, and writing the Law in the heart, &c.) shee had denied, that they did mean any sanctification in us: There were

¹ II. 20.

were diverse women also with whom shee had dealt about the same point, who (if their modesty had not restrained them) would have borne witness against her herein, (as themselves after confessed) wherefore the Elders pressed her very earnestly to remember her self, and not to stand so obstinately to maintain so manifest an untruth, but shee was deaf of that care, and would not acknowledge that shee had been at any time of that judgement, howsoever her expressions were; Then Mr. *Cotton* told the Assembly, that whereas shee had been formerly dealt with for matter of doctrine, he had (according to the duty of his place being the teacher of that Church) proceeded against unto admonition, but now the case being altered, and she being in question for maintaining of untruth, which is matter of manners, he must leave the business to the Pastor, Mr. *Wilson* to go on with her, but withall declared his judgement in the case from that in *Revel. 22.* that such as make and maintaine a lye, ought to be cast out of the Church; and whereas two or three pleaded that she might first have a second admonition, according to that in *Titus 3. 10.*¹ he answered that that was onely for such as erred in point of doctrine, but such as shall notoriously offend in matter of conversation, ought to be presently cast out, as he proved by *Ananias* and *Saphira*,² and the incestuous Corinthian;³ (and as appeares by that of *Simon Magus*⁴) and for her owne part though she heard this moved in her behalfe, that she might have a further respite, yet she her selfe never desired it: so the Pastor went on, and propounding it to the Church

¹ "A man that is an heretick after the first and second admonition reject."

² *Acts* v. 1-11.

³ *1 Corinthians* v. 5.

⁴ *Acts* viii. 18-24.

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X Church, to know whether they were all agreed, that she should be cast out, and a full consent appearing (after the usuall manner) by their silence, after a convenient pause he proceeded, and denounced the sentence of excommunication against her, and she was commanded to depart out of the Assembly.¹ In her going forth, one standing at the dore, said, The Lord sanctifie this unto you, to whom she made answer, The Lord judgeth not as man judgeth, better to be cast out of the Church then to deny Christ.²

X Thus it hath pleased the Lord to have compassion of his poore Churches here, and to discover this great imposter, an instrument of Satan so fitted and trained to his service for interrupting the passage, Kingdome in this part of the world, and poysoning the Churches here planted, as no story records the like of a woman, since that mentioned in the *Revelation*; it would make a large volume to lay downe all passages, I will onely observe some few, which were obvious to all that knew her course.

1. In her entrance I observe, { 1. Her entrance.
2. Her progresse.
3. Her downfall.

1. The foundation she laid was (or rather seemed to be) Christ and Free-Grace.

2. Rule she pretended to walke by, was onely the Scripture.

3. The light to discern this rule, was onely the holy Ghost.

4. The

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 189.

² The account of these proceedings given by Winthrop in his *History* (Savage's *Winthrop*, Vol. I. pp. *257-8) is

an abstract of the foregoing, containing many of its phrases and forms of expression. The two accounts manifestly emanated from the same source.

4. The persons she conversed with were (for the most part) Christians in Church Covenant.

5. Her ordinary talke was about the things of the Kingdome of God.

6. Her usuall conversation was in the way of righteoufnesse and kindnesse.

Thus she entred and made up the first act of her course.

In her progresse I observe,

First, her successe, she had in a short time insinuated her selfe into the hearts of much of the people (yea of many of the most wise and godly) who grew into so [65] reverent an esteeme of her godlinesse, and spirituall gifts, as they looked at her as a Prophetesse, raised up of God for some great worke now at hand, as the calling of the Jewes, &c. so as she had more resort to her for counsell about matter of conscience, and clearing up mens spirituall estates, then any Minister (I might say all the Elders) in the Country.

Secondly, Pride and arrainging of her spirit.

1. In framing a new way of conversation and evidencing thereof, carried along in the distinction betweene the Covenant of workes, which she would have no otherwise differed, but by an immediate Revelation of the Spirit.

2. In despising all (both Elders and Christians) who went not her way, and laying them under a Covenant of workes.

3. In taking upon her infallibly to know the election of others, so as she would say, that if she had but one halfe houres talke with a man, she would tell whether he were elect or not.

4. Her

4. Her impatience of opposition, which appears in divers passages before.

Thirdly, Her skill and cunning to devise.

1. In that she still pretended she was of Mr. *Cottons* judgement in all things.¹

2. In covering her errors by doubtfull expressions.

3. In shadowing the true end, and abuse of her weekly meetings under the name of repeating Mr. *Cottons* Sermons.²

4. In her method of practise to bring the conscience under a false terror, by working that an argument of a Covenant of workes, which no Christian can have comfort without, viz. of sanctification, or qualifications, (as she termed it.)

5. In her confident profession of her owne good estate, and the clearnesse and comfort of it, obtained in the same way of waiting for immediate Revelation which she held out to others.

In her downfall there may be observed the Lords faithfulness in honouring and justifying his owne Ordinances.

1. In that hee made her to cleare the justice of the Court, by confessing the vanity of her revelations, &c. and her sinne in despising his Ministers.

2. In that the judgement and sentence of the Church hath concurred with that of the Court in her rejection, so that she is cast out of both as an unworthy member of either.

3. The Justice of God in giving her up to those delusions, and to that impudency in venting and maintaining them, as should bring her under that censure, which (not long before)

she

¹ *Infra*, p. 351.

² *Supra*, p. 79.

she had endeavoured and expected to have brought upon some other, who opposed her proceedings.¹

4. That she who was in such esteeme in the Church for soundnesse of Judgement and sincerity of heart (but a few moneths before) should now come under admonition for many foule and fundamentall errors, and after be cast out for notorious lying.

5. That shee who was wont to bee so confident of [66] her spirituall good estate, and ready (undefired) to hold it forth to others (being pressed now at her last appearance before the Church to give some prooffe of it) should bee wholly silent in that matter.

6. Whereas

¹ Referring to the admonition of Wilfon by the Boston church, *supra*, p. 203.

The expressions here used fix within narrow limits the time when, and the place where, this portion of the *Short Story* was prepared. The excommunication of Mrs. Hutchinson took place on the 22d of March, and on the 28th she left Boston, going by water to Mt. Wollaston, the preliminary stage to her further journey by land to Rhode Island. Winthrop in his *History* says: "After she was excommunicated, her spirits, which seemed before to be somewhat dejected, revived again, and she gloried in her sufferings, saying, that it was the greatest happiness, next to Christ, that ever befel her. Indeed, it was a happy day to the churches of Christ here, and to many poor souls, who had been seduced by her, who, by what they heard and saw that day, were (through the grace of God) brought off quite from her errors, and settled again in the truth" (*Savage's Winthrop*, Vol. I. p.

* 258). The one account is almost a paraphrase of the other; but the expressions in the text that "shee is not affected by remorse, but glories in it, and feares not the vengeance of God, which she lyes under," indicate that the *Short Story* was written first, and immediately after the excommunication. No mention is made in it of the departure from Boston of Mrs. Hutchinson, nor of any occurrences subsequent to the excommunication. In the *History*, on the other hand, the past tense is used throughout, and in the same entry the subsequent events of Mrs. Hutchinson's banishment are narrated. The inference is strong that both accounts were prepared by the same hand; but while that in the *Short Story* was written at once and hurried off to England in some vessel then about to sail, that in the *History* was set down subsequently and more at leisure. This also would account for the greater warmth of expression in the *Short Story*, — a thing not characteristic of Winthrop.

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6. Whereas upon the sentence of the Court against her, shee boasted highly of her sufferings for Christ, &c. it was noted by one of the Elders (who bare witness against her errors) that the spirit of glory promised in *Pet.*¹ to those who suffer for well-doing, did not come upon her, but a spirit of delusion, and damnable error, which as it had possessed her before, so it became more effectually and evident by her sufferings.

7. Here is to be seen the presence of God in his Ordinances, when they are faithfully attended according to his holy will, although not free from human infirmities: This *American Jezebel* kept her strength and reputation, even among the people of God, till the hand of Civill Justice laid hold on her, and then shee began evidently to decline, and the faithful to be freed from her forgeries; and now in this last act, when shee might have expected (as most likely shee did) by her seeming repentance of her errors, and confessing her undervaluing of the Ordinances of Magistracy and Ministry, to have redeemed her reputation in point of sincerity, and yet have made good all her former work, and kept open a back doore to have returned to her vomit again, by her paraphrasticall retractions, and denying any change in her judgement, yet such was the presence and blessing of God in his own Ordinance, that this subtilty of Satan was discovered to her utter shame and confusion, and to the setting at liberty of many godly hearts, that had been captivated by her to that day; and that Church which by her means was brought under much infamy, and neere to dissolution, was hereby sweetly repaired, and a hopeful way of establishment, and her

¹ 1 *Peter* iii. 17; iv. 14.

her dissembled repentance cleerly detected, God giving her up since the sentence of excommunication, to that hardnesse of heart, as shee is not affected with any remorse, but glories in it, and feares not the vengeance of God, which she lyes under, as if God did work contrary to his own word, and loosed from heaven, while his Church had bound upon earth:

FINIS.





Appendix to the History of the Province of
Massachusetts-Bay, by Mr. Hutchinson, Lieu-
tenant Governor of the Province.

Number II.¹

November 1637.

THE Examination of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson at the court
at Newtown.

Mr. Winthrop, governor. Mrs. Hutchinson, you are called
here as one of those that have troubled the peace of the
commonwealth and the churches here; you are known to
be a woman that hath had a great share in the promoting
and

¹ The following report of the examination of Mrs. Hutchinson at her trial in Cambridge before the General Court in November, 1637, differs in many essential respects from the report included in the *Short Story*. Referring to it in the body of his *History* (Vol. I. p. 70), Governor Hutchinson says: "An ancient manuscript of the trial at large, having been preserved, discovers nothing in her [Mrs. Hutchinson's] conduct but what might naturally be expected from a high degree of enthusiasm." By whom this report was made, or how it came into the possession of Governor Hutchinson, nowhere appears. It was evidently one of many manuscripts used

by him in the preparation of his *History*, memoranda in regard to which are to be found in the preface to the Prince Society edition of the *Hutchinson Papers* (Vol. I. pp. iii-x), and in Dr. Charles Deane's *Hutchinson Bibliography*, in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* for February, 1857. This paper, slightly altered and amended, was subsequently published in the *Historical Magazine* for April, 1857, and then reprinted by the author for private distribution. "The examination" fills thirty-nine printed pages (pp. 481-520) in the second volume of Hutchinson's *History*.

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1) and divulging of those opinions that are causes of this
2) trouble, and to be nearly joined not only in affinity and
3) affection with some of those the court had taken notice of
4) and passed censure upon, but you have spoken divers things
as we have been informed very prejudicial to the honour of
the churches and ministers thereof, and you have maintained
a meeting and an assembly in your house that hath been
condemned by the general assembly as a thing not tolerable
nor comely in the sight of God nor fitting for your sex, and
notwithstanding that was cried down you have continued
the same, therefore we have thought good to send for you
to understand how things are, that if you be in an erroneous
way we may reduce you that so you may become a profitable
member here among us, otherwise if you be obstinate in
your course that then the court may take such course that
you may trouble us no further, therefore I would intreat
you to express whether you do not assent and hold in prac-
tice to those opinions and factions that have been handled
in court already, that is to say, whether you do not justify
6) Mr. Wheelwright's sermon and the petition.

Mrs. Hutchinson. I am called here to answer before you
but I hear no things laid to my charge.

Gov. I have told you some already and more I can tell
you. (*Mrs. H.*) Name one Sir.

Gov. Have I not named some already?

Mrs. H. What have I said or done?

Gov. Why for your doings, this you did harbour and
countenance those that are parties in this faction that you
have heard of. (*Mrs. H.*) That's matter of conscience, Sir.

Gov. Your conscience you must keep or it must be kept
for you.

Mrs.

Mrs. H. Must not I then entertain the fairs because I must keep my conscience.

Gov. Say that one brother should commit felony or treason and come to his brother's house, if he knows him guilty and conceals him he is guilty of the same. It is his conscience to entertain him, but if his conscience comes into act in giving countenance and entertainment to him that hath broken the law he is guilty too. So if you do countenance those that are transgressors of the law you are in the same fact.

Mrs. H. What law do they transgress?

Gov. The law of God and of the state. X

Mrs. H. In what particular?

Gov. Why in this among the rest, whereas the Lord doth say honour thy father and thy mother.

Mrs. H. Ey Sir in the Lord. (*Gov.*) This honour you have broke in giving countenance to them. (C)

Mrs. H. In entertaining those did I entertain them against any act (for there is the thing), or what God hath appointed?

Gov. You knew that Mr. Wheelwright did preach this sermon and those that countenance him in this do break a law.

Mrs. H. What law have I broken? ✓

Gov. Why the fifth commandment.

Mrs. H. I deny that for he saith in the Lord.

Gov. You have joined with them in the faction.

Mrs. H. In what faction have I joined with them?

Gov. In presenting the petition.

Mrs. H. Suppose I had set my hand to the petition what then? (*Gov.*) You saw that case tried before. Mrs.

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Mrs. H. But I had not my hand to the petition.

Gov. You have councelled them. (*Mrs. H.*) Wherein?

Gov. Why in entertaining them.

Mrs. H. What breach of law is that Sir?

Gov. Why dishonouring of parents.

Mrs. H. But put the case Sir that I do fear the Lord and my parents, may not I entertain them that fear the Lord because my parents will not give me leave?

Gov. If they be the fathers of the commonwealth, and they of another religion, if you entertain them then you dishonour your parents and are justly punishable.

Mrs. H. If I entertain them, as they have dishonoured their parents I do.

Gov. No but you by countenancing them above others put honor upon them.

Mrs. H. I may put honor upon them as the children of God and as they do honor the Lord.

Gov. We do not mean to discourse with those of your sex but only this; you do adhere unto them and do endeavor to set forward this faction and so you do dishonour us.

Mrs. H. I do acknowledge no such thing neither do I think that I ever put any dishonour upon you.

Gov. Why do you keep such a meeting at your house as you do every week upon a set day?

Mrs. H. It is lawful for me so to do, as it is all your practices and can you find a warrant for yourself and condemn me for the same thing? The ground of my taking it up was, when I first came to this land because I did not go to such meetings as those were, it was presently reported that

that I did not allow of such meetings but held them unlawful and therefore in that regard they said I was proud and did despise all ordinances, upon that a friend came unto me and told me of it and I to prevent such aspersions took it up, but it was in practice before I came therefore I was not the first.

Gov. For this, that you appeal to our practice you need no confutation. If your meeting had answered to the former it had not been offensive, but I will say that there was no meeting of women alone, but your meeting is of another sort for there are sometimes men among you.

Mrs. H. There was never any man with us.

Gov. Well, admit there was no man at your meeting and that you was sorry for it, there is no warrant for your doings, and by what warrant do you continue such a course?

Mrs. H. I conceive there lyes a clear rule in Titus, that the elder women should instruct the younger¹ and then I must have a time wherein I must do it.

Gov. All this I grant you, I grant you a time for it, but what is this to the purpose that you Mrs. Hutchinson must call a company together from their callings to come to be taught of you?

Mrs. H. Will it please you to answer me this and to give me a rule for then I will willingly submit to any truth. If any come to my house to be instructed in the ways of God what rule have I to put them away?

Gov. But suppose that a hundred men come unto you to be instructed will you forbear to instruct them?

Mrs. H. As far as I conceive I cross a rule in it.

Gov.

¹ Titus ii. 3-5.

Gov. Very well and do you not so here?

Mrs. H. No Sir for my ground is they are men.

Gov. Men and women all is one for that, but suppose that a man should come and say Mrs. Hutchinson I hear that you are a woman that God hath given his grace unto and you have knowledge in the word of God I pray instruct me a little, ought you not to instruct this man?

Mrs. H. I think I may. — Do you think it not lawful for me to teach women and why do you call me to teach the court?

Gov. We do not call you to teach the court but to lay open yourself.

Mrs. H. I desire you that you would then fet me down a rule by which I may put them away that come unto me and so have peace in so doing.

Gov. You must shew your rule to receive them.

Mrs. H. I have done it.

Gov. I deny it because I have brought more arguments than you have.

Mrs. H. I say, to me it is a rule.

Mr. Endicot. You say there are some rules unto you. I think there is a contradiction in your own words. What rule for your practice do you bring, only a custom in Boston.

Mrs. H. No Sir that was no rule to me but if you look upon the rule in Titus it is a rule to me. If you convince me that it is no rule I shall yield.

Gov. You know that there is no rule that crosses another, but this rule crosses that in the Corinthians.¹ But you must take

¹ 1 Corinthians xiv. 34, 35.

take it in this sense that elder women must instruct the younger about their business, and to love their husbands and not to make them to clash.

Mrs. H. I do not conceive but that it is meant for some publick times.

Gov. Well, have you no more to say but this?

Mrs. H. I have said sufficient for my practice.

Gov. Your course is not to be suffered for, besides that we find such a course as this to be greatly prejudicial to the state, besides the occasion that it is to seduce many honest persons that are called to those meetings and your opinions being known to be different from the word of God may seduce many simple souls that resort unto you, besides that the occasion which hath come of late hath come from none but such as have frequented your meetings, so that now they are flown off from magistrates and ministers and this since they have come to you, and besides that it will not well stand with the commonwealth that families should be neglected for so many neighbours and dames and so much time spent, we see no rule of God for this, we see not that any should have authority to set up any other exercises besides what authority hath already set up and so what hurt comes of this you will be guilty of and we for suffering you.

Mrs. H. Sir I do not believe that to be so.

Gov. Well, we see how it is we must therefore put it away from you, or restrain you from maintaining this course.

Mrs. H. If you have a rule for it from God's word you may.

Gov. We are your judges, and not you ours and we must compel you to it.

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Mrs. H. If it please you by authority to put it down I will freely let you for I am subject to your authority.

*Mr. Bradstreet.*¹ I would ask this question of Mrs. Hutchinson, whether you do think this is lawful? for then this will follow that all other women that do not are in a sin.

Mrs. H. I conceive this is a free will offering.

Bradst. If it be a free will offering you ought to forbear it because it gives offence.

Mrs. H. Sir, in regard of myself I could, but for others I do not yet see light but shall further consider of it.

Bradst. I am not against all women's meetings but do think them to be lawful.

*Mr. Dudley, dep. gov.*² Here hath been much spoken concerning Mrs. Hutchinson's meetings and among other answers she saith that men come not there, I would ask you this one question then, whether never any man was at your meeting?

Gov. There are two meetings kept at their house.

Dep. Gov. How; is there two meetings?

Mrs. H. Ey Sir, I shall not equivocate, there is a meeting of men and women and there is a meeting only for women.

Dep. gov. Are they both constant?

Mrs. H. No, but upon occasions they are deferred.

Mr.

¹ One of the assistants. — H. Governor Simon Bradstreet was born in England in 1603, came to America in 1630, and died at Salem, March 27, 1697. Full notices of him will be found in the encyclopedias and the histories of Massachusetts.

² Governor Thomas Dudley was born in England in 1576, came to America in 1630, and died in Roxbury, July 31, 1653. Full notices of him also will be found in the encyclopedias and the histories of Massachusetts.

*Mr. Endicot.*¹ Who teaches in the men's meetings none but men, do not women sometimes?

Mrs. H. Never as I heard, not one.

Dep. gov. I would go a little higher with Mrs. Hutchinson. About three years ago we were all in peace. Mrs. Hutchinson from that time she came hath made a disturbance, and some that came over with her in the ship did inform me what she was as soon as she was landed. I being then in place dealt with the pastor and teacher of Boston and desired them to enquire of her, and then I was satisfied that she held nothing different from us, but within half a year after, she had vented divers of her strange opinions and had made parties in the country, and at length it comes that Mr. Cotton and Mr. Vane were of her judgment, but Mr. Cotton hath cleared himself that he was not of that mind, but now it appears by this woman's meeting that Mrs. Hutchinson hath so forestalled the minds of many by their resort to her meeting that now she hath a potent party in the country. Now if all these things have endangered us as from that foundation and if she in particular hath disparaged all our ministers in the land that they have preached a covenant of works, and only Mr. Cotton a covenant of grace, why this is not to be suffered, and therefore being driven to the foundation and it being found that Mrs. Hutchinson is she that hath depraved all the ministers and hath been the cause of what is fallen out, why we must take away the foundation and the building will fall.

Mrs.

¹ One of the assistants. — H. Governor John Endicott was born in England in 1588, arrived in Salem in 1628, and died in Boston March 15, 1665.

Full notices of Governor Endicott, as of Governors Bradstreet and Dudley, will be found in the encyclopedias.

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Mrs. H. I pray Sir prove it that I said they preached nothing but a covenant of works.

Dep. Gov. Nothing but a covenant of works, why a Jesuit may preach truth sometimes.

Mrs. H. Did I ever say they preached a covenant of works then?

Dep. Gov. If they do not preach a covenant of grace clearly, then they preach a covenant of works.

Mrs. H. No Sir, one may preach a covenant of grace more clearly than another, so I said.

D. Gov. We are not upon that now but upon position.

Mrs. H. Prove this then Sir that you say I said.

D. Gov. When they do preach a covenant of works do they preach truth?

Mrs. H. Yes Sir, but when they preach a covenant of works for salvation, that is not truth.

D. Gov. I do but ask you this, when the ministers do preach a covenant of works do they preach a way of salvation?

✓ *Mrs. H.* I did not come hither to answer to questions of that sort.

D. Gov. Because you will deny the thing.

Mrs. H. Ey, but that is to be proved first.

D. Gov. I will make it plain that you did say that the ministers did preach a covenant of works.

Mrs. H. I deny that.

D. Gov. And that you said they were not able ministers of the new testament, but Mr. Cotton only.

× *Mrs. H.* If ever I spake that I proved it by God's word.

Court. Very well, very well.

Mrs.

Mrs. H. If one shall come unto me in private, and desire me seriously to tell them what I thought of such an one. I must either speak false or true in my answer.

— *D. Gov.* Likewise I will prove this that you said the gospel in the letter and words holds forth nothing but a covenant of works and that all that do not hold as you do are in a covenant of works.

Mrs. H. I deny this for if I should so say I should speak against my own judgment.

Mr. Endicot. I desire to speak seeing Mrs. Hutchinson seems to lay something against them that are to witness against her.

Gover. Only I would add this. It is well discerned to the court that Mrs. Hutchinson can tell when to speak and when to hold her tongue. Upon the answering of a question which we desire her to tell her thoughts of she desires to be pardoned.

Mrs. H. It is one thing for me to come before a public magistracy and there to speak what they would have me to speak and another when a man comes to me in a way of friendship privately there is difference in that.

Gov. What if the matter be all one.

*Mr. Hugh Peters.*¹ That which concerns us to speak unto as yet we are sparing in unless the court command us to speak, then we shall answer to Mrs. Hutchinson notwithstanding our brethren are very unwilling to answer.

Govern. This speech was not spoken in a corner but in a public

¹ Minister of Salem, afterwards famous in England. — H. The Rev. Hugh Peter was born in England in 1599, came to America in 1635, and,

returning to England in 1641, was executed in London October 16, 1660. See the encyclopedias and various biographies.

public assembly, and though things were spoken in private yet now coming to us, we are to deal with them as public.

Mr. Peters. We shall give you a fair account of what was said and desire that we may not be thought to come as informers against the gentlewoman, but as it may be serviceable for the country and our posterity to give you a brief account. This gentlewoman went under suspicion not only from her landing, that she was a woman not only difficult in her opinions, but also of an intemperate spirit. What was done at her landing I do not well remember, but as soon as Mr. Vane and ourselves came this controversy began yet it did reflect upon Mrs. Hutchinson and some of our brethren had dealt with her and it so fell out that some of our ministry doth suffer as if it were not according to the gospel and as if we taught a covenant of works instead of a covenant of grace. Upon these and the like we did address ourselves to the teacher of that church, and the court then assembled being sensible of these things, and this gentlewoman being as we understood a chief agent, our desire to the teacher was to tell us wherein the difference lay between him and us, for the spring did then arise as we did conceive from this gentlewoman, and so we told him. He said that he thought it not according to God to commend this to the magistrates but to take some other course, and so going on in the discourse we thought it good to send for this gentlewoman, and she willingly came, and at the very first we gave her notice that such reports there were that she did conceive our ministry to be different from the ministry of the gospel, and that we taught a covenant of works, &c. and this was her table talk, and therefore we desired her

n.b.

her to clear herself and deal plainly. She was very tender at the first. Some of our brethren did desire to put this upon proof, and then her words upon that were The fear of man is a snare why should I be afraid. These were her words. I did then take upon me to ask her this question. What difference do you conceive to be between your teacher and us? She did not request us that we should preserve her from danger or that we should be silent. Briefly, she told me there was a wide and a broad difference between our brother Mr. Cotton and our selves. I desired to know the difference. She answered that he preaches the covenant of grace and you the covenant of works and that you are not able ministers of the new testament and know no more than the apostles did before the resurrection of Christ. I did then put it to her, What do you conceive of such a brother? She answered he had not the seal of the spirit. And other things we asked her but generally the frame of her course was this, that she did conceive that we were not able ministers of the gospel. And that day being past our brother Cotton was sorry that she should lay us under a covenant of works, and could have wished she had not done so. The elders being there present we did charge them with her, and the teacher of the place said they would speak further with her, and after some time she answered that we were gone as far as the apostles were before Christ's ascension. And since that we have gone with tears some of us to her.

Mr. B. If our pastor would shew his writings you should see what I said, and that many things are not so as is reported.

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*Mr. Wilson.*¹ Sister Hutchinson, for the writings you speak of I have them not, and this I must say I did not write down all that was said and did pass betwixt one and another, yet I say what is written I will avouch.

Dep. Gov. I desire that the other elders will say what Mr. Peters hath said.

*Mr. Weld.*² Being desired by the honored court, that which our brother Peters had spoken was the truth and things were spoken as he hath related and the occasion of calling this sister and the passages that were there among us. And myself asking why she did cast such aspersions upon the ministers of the country though we were poor sinful men and for ourselves we cared not but for the precious doctrine we held forth we could not but grieve to hear that so blasphemed. She at that time was sparing in her speech. I need not repeat the things they have been truly related. She said the fear of man is a snare, and therefore I will speak freely and she spake her judgment and mind freely as was before related, that Mr. Cotton did preach a covenant of grace and we a covenant of works. And this I remember she said we could not preach a covenant of grace because we were not sealed, and we were not able ministers of the new testament no more than were the disciples before the resurrection of Christ.

*Mr. Phillips.*³ For my own part I have had little to do
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¹ Pastor or one of the ministers of Boston. — H.

² Minister of Roxbury. He wrote the history of antinomianism. — H.

³ Minister of Watertown. — H. The Rev. George Phillips was born in England in 1593, came to Massachusetts in

1630, and died in Watertown July 1, 1644. There is a biography of him in the *Magnalia* (B. III. P. II. chap. iv.), and full genealogical details in Savage (*Genealogical Dictionary of New England*, Vol. III. p. 409), and also in Bond's *History of Watertown*.

in these things only at that time I was there and yet not being privy to the ground of that which our brother Peters had mentioned but they procuring me to go along with them telling me that they were to deal with her; at first she was unwilling to answer but at length she said there was a great deal of difference between Mr. Cotton and we. Upon this Mr. Cotton did say that he could have wished that she had not put that in. Being asked of particulars she did instance in Mr. Shepherd that he did not preach a covenant of grace clearly, and she instanced our brother Weld. Then I asked her of myself (being she spake rashly of them all) because she never heard me at all. She likewise said that we were not able ministers of the new testament and her reason was because we were not sealed.

*Mr. Symmes.*¹ For my own part being called to speak in this case to discharge the relation wherein I stand to the commonwealth and that which I stand in unto God, I shall speak briefly. For my acquaintance with this person I had none in our native country, only I had occasion to be in her company once or twice before I came, where I did perceive that she did slight the ministers of the word of God. But I came along with her in the ship, and it so fell out that we were in the great cabin together and therein did agree with the labours of Mr. Lothrop and myself, only there was a secret opposition to things delivered. The main thing that

¹ Minister of Charlestown. — H. The Rev. Zachariah Symmes was born in England in 1599, came to America in 1634, and died in Charlestown February 4, 1671. There is a notice of him in the *Magnalia* (B. III. P. II. chap. xxi.)

Further information in regard to him and his ministry in Charlestown is to be found in Frothingham's *Charlestown* (chap. x.) and in Vinton's *Symmes Memorial* (pp. 2-17).

that was then in hand was about the evidencing of a good estate, and among the rest about that place in John concerning the love of the brethren. That which I took notice of was the corruptness and narrowness of her opinions, which I doubt not but I may call them so, but she said, when she came to Boston there would be something more seen than I said, for such speeches were cast about and abused as that of our saviour, I have many things to say but you cannot bear them now. And being come and she desiring to be admitted as a member, I was desired to be there, and then Mr. Cotton did give me full satisfaction in the things then in question. And for things which have been here spoken, as far as I can remember they are the truth, and when I asked her what she thought of me, she said alas you know my mind long ago; yet I do not think myself disparaged by her testimony and I would not trouble the court, only this one thing I shall put in, that Mr. Dudley and Mr. Haines were not wanting in the cause after I had given notice of her.

Mr. Wilson. I desire you would give me leave to speak this word because of what has been said concerning her entrance into the church. There was some difficulty made, but in her answers she gave full satisfaction to our teacher and myself, and for point of evidencing justification by sanctification she did not deny, but only justification must be first. Our teacher told her then that if she was of that mind she would take away the scruple; for we thought that matter, for point of order we did not greatly stand upon, because we hoped she would hold with us in that truth as well as the other.

Mr.

*Mr. Shepard.*¹ I am loth to speak in this assembly concerning this gentlewoman in question, but I can do no less than speak what my conscience speaks unto me. For personal reproaches I take it a man's wisdom to conceal. Concerning the reproaches of the ministry of our's there hath been many in the country, and this hath been my thoughts of that. Let men speak what they will not only against persons but against ministry, let that pass; but let us strive to speak to the consciences of men, knowing that if we had the truth with us we shall not need to approve our words by our practice and our ministry to the hearts of the people, and they should speak for us and therefore I have satisfied myself and the brethren with that. Now for that which concerns this gentlewoman at this time I do not well remember every particular, only this I do remember that the end of our meeting was to satisfy ourselves in some points. Among the rest Mrs. Hutchinson was desired to speak her thoughts concerning the ministers of the Bay. Now I remember that she said that we were not able ministers of the new testament. I followed her with particulars, she instanced myself as being at the lecture and hearing me preach when as I gave some means whereby a christian might come to the assurance of God's love. She instanced that I was not sealed. I said why did she say so. She said because you put love for an evidence. Now I am sure she

¹ Minister of Cambridge.—H. The Rev. Thomas Shepard was born in England in 1605, came to America in 1635, and died in Cambridge in 1649. His autobiography was printed in 1832, and his collected works, together with a memoir by Rev. Horatio Alger, were

published in three volumes in 1853. There is a literary estimate of him in Tyler's *History of American Literature* (Vol. I. pp. 204-210); and see also McKenzie's *First Church in Cambridge*.

she was in an error in this speech for if assurance be an holy estate then I am sure there are not graces wanting to evidence it.

*Mr. Eliot.*¹ I am loth to spend time therefore I shall consent to what hath been said. Our brethren did intreat us to write and a few things I did write the substance of which hath been here spoken and I have it in writing, therefore I do avouch it.

Mr. Shephard. I desire to speak this word, it may be but a slip of her tongue, and I hope she will be sorry for it, and then we shall be glad of it.

Dep. Gov. I called these witnesses and you deny them. You see they have proved this and you deny this, but it is clear. You said they preached a covenant of works and that they were not able ministers of the new testament; now there are two other things that you did affirm which were that the scriptures in the letter of them held forth nothing but a covenant of works and likewise that those that were under a covenant of works cannot be saved.

Mrs. H. Prove that I said so. (*Gov.*) Did you say so?

Mrs. H. No Sir it is your conclusion.

D. Gov. What do I do charging of you if you deny what is so fully proved.

Gov. Here are six undeniable ministers who say it is true and yet you deny that you did say that they did preach a covenant of works and that they were not able ministers of the

¹ Minister of Roxbury. — H. The Rev. John Eliot was born in England in 1604, came to America in 1631, and died in Roxbury May 21, 1690. Full accounts of "the Indian Apostle" are

to be found in the encyclopedias, and in Rev. Coopers Francis's *Life* in Sparks's *American Biography*, First Series, Vol. V.

the gospel, and it appears plainly that you have spoken it, and whereas you say that it was drawn from you in a way of friendship, you did profess then that it was out of conscience that you spake and said The fear of man is a snare wherefore shall I be afraid, I will speak plainly and freely.

Mrs. H. That I absolutely deny, for the first question was thus answered by me to them. They thought that I did conceive there was a difference between them and Mr. Cotton. At the first I was somewhat reserved, then said Mr. Peters I pray answer the question directly as fully and as plainly as you desire we should tell you our minds. Mrs. Hutchinson we come for plain dealing and telling you our hearts. Then I said I would deal as plainly as I could, and whereas they say I said they were under a covenant of works and in the state of the apostles why these two speeches cross one another. I might say they might preach a covenant of works as did the apostles, but to preach a covenant of works and to be under a covenant of works is another business.

Dep. Gov. There have been six witnesses to prove this and yet you deny it.

Mrs. H. I deny that these were the first words that were spoken.

Gov. You make the case worse, for you clearly shew that the ground of your opening your mind was not to satisfy them but to satisfy your own conscience.

Mr. Peters. We do not desire to be so narrow to the court and the gentlewoman about times and seasons, whether first or after, but said it was.

Dep. Gov. For that other thing I mentioned for the letter
of

of the scripture that it held forth nothing but a covenant of works, and for the latter that we are in a state of damnation, being under a covenant of works, or to that effect, these two things you also deny. Now the case stands thus. About three quarters of a year ago I heard of it, and speaking of it there came one to me who is not here, but will affirm it if need be, as he did to me that he did hear you say in so many words. He set it down under his hand and I can bring it forth when the court pleases. His name is subscribed to both these things, and upon my peril be it if I bring you not in the paper and bring the minister (meaning Mr. Ward¹) to be deposed.

Gov. What say you to this, though nothing be directly proved, yet you hear it may be.

Mrs. H. I acknowledge using the words of the apostle to the Corinthians unto him, that they that were ministers of the letter and not the spirit did preach a covenant of works. Upon his saying there was no such scripture, then I fetched the Bible and shewed him this place 2 Cor. iii. 6. He said that was the letter of the law. No said I it is the letter of the gospel.

Gov. You have spoken this more than once then.

Mrs. H. Then upon further discourse about proving a good estate and holding it out by the manifestation of the spirit he did acknowledge that to be the nearest way, but yet said he, will you not acknowledge that which we hold forth

¹ The Rev. Nathaniel Ward, born in England between the years 1578 and 1580, came to America in 1634, and, returning to England in 1646, died there in 1652. He compiled the Massachusetts *Body of Liberties*, adopted by the

General Court in 1641, and was the author of the famous treatise called *The Simple Cobbler of Agawam in America*, printed in England in 1647. Full accounts of him are contained in the biographical cyclopedias.

forth to be a way too wherein we may have hope; no truly if that be a way it is a way to hell. ✓

Gov. Mrs. Hutchinson, the court you see hath laboured to bring you to acknowledge the error of your way that so you might be reduced, the time now grows late, we shall therefore give you a little more time to consider of it and therefore desire that you attend the court again in the morning. ✓

The next morning.

Gov. We proceeded the last night as far as we could in hearing of this cause of Mrs. Hutchinson. There were divers things laid to her charge, her ordinary meetings about religious exercises, her speeches in derogation of the ministers among us, and the weakning of the hands and hearts of the people towards them. Here was sufficient proof made of that which she was accused of in that point concerning the ministers and their ministry, as that they did preach a covenant of works when others did preach a covenant of grace, and that they were not able ministers of the new testament, and that they had not the seal of the spirit, and this was spoken not as was pretended out of private conference, but out of conscience and warrant from scripture alledged the fear of man is a snare and seeing God had given her a calling to it she would freely speak. Some other speeches she used, as that the letter of the scripture held forth a covenant of works, and this is offered to be proved by probable grounds. If there be anything else that the court hath to say they may speak.

Mrs. H. The ministers come in their own cause. Now

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the Lord hath said that an oath is the end of all controversy; though there be a sufficient number of witnesses yet they are not according to the word, therefore I desire they may speak upon oath.

Gov. Well, it is in the liberty of the court whether they will have an oath or no and it is not in this case as in case of a jury. If they be satisfied they have sufficient matter to proceed.

Mrs. H. I have since I went home perused some notes out of what Mr. Wilson did then write and I find things not to be as hath been alledged.

Gov. Where are the writings?

Mrs. H. I have them not, it may be Mr. Wilson hath.

Gov. What are the instructions that you can give, Mr. Wilson?

Mr. Wilson. I do say that Mr. Vane desired me to write the discourse out and whether it be in his own hands or in some body's else I know not. For my own copy it is somewhat imperfect, but I could make it perfect with a little pains.

Gov. For that which you alledge as an exception against the elders it is vain and untrue, for they are no prosecutors in this cause but are called to witness in the cause.

Mrs. H. But they are witnesses of their own cause.

Gov. It is not their cause but the cause of the whole country and they were unwilling that it should come forth, but that it was the glory and honour of God.

Mrs. H. But it being the Lord's ordinance that an oath should be the end of all strife, therefore they are to deliver what they do upon oath.

Mr.

Mr. Bradstreet. Mrs. Hutchinson, these are but circumstances and adjuncts to the cause, admit they should mistake you in your speeches you would make them to sin if you urge them to swear.

Mrs. H. That is not the thing. If they accuse me I desire it may be upon oath.

Gov. If the court be not satisfied they may have an oath.

*Mr. Nowel.*¹ I should think it convenient that the country also should be satisfied because that I do hear it affirmed, that things which were spoken in private are carried abroad to the publick and thereupon they do undervalue the ministers of congregations.

*Mr. Brown.*² I desire to speak. If I mistake not an oath is of a high nature, and it is not to be taken but in a controversy, and for my part I am afraid of an oath and fear that we shall take God's name in vain, for we may take the witness of these men without an oath.

Mr. Endicot. I think the ministers are so well known unto us, that we need not take an oath of them, but indeed an oath is the end of all strife.

Mrs. H. There are some that will take their oaths to the contrary.

Mr. Endicot. Then it shall go under the name of a controversy, therefore we desire to see the notes and those also that will swear.

Gov.

¹ An assistant. — H. Increase Nowell, of Charlestown. Elected an assistant of the Company in England, in 1629, he came to America with Winthrop in 1630, was one of the founders of Charlestown, and subsequently served as magistrate,

deputy, and secretary of the colony. There is a detailed notice of him in Frothingham's *Charlestown* (pp. 134, 135).

² A deputy for Watertown, and a ruling elder there. — H.

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Gov. Let those that are not satisfied in the court speak.

Many say.— We are not satisfied.

Gov. I would speak this to Mrs. Hutchinson. If the ministers shall take an oath will you sit down satisfied?

Mrs. H. I can't be notwithstanding oaths satisfied against my own conscience.

*Mr. Stoughton.*¹ I am fully satisfied with this that the ministers do speak the truth but now in regard of censure. I dare not hold up my hand to that, because it is a course of justice, and I cannot satisfy myself to proceed so far in a way of justice, and therefore I should desire an oath in this as in all other things. I do but speak to prevent offence if I should not hold up my hand at the censure unless there be an oath given.

Mr. Peters. We are ready to swear if we see a way of God in it.

Here was a parley between the deputy governor and Mr. Stoughton about the oath.

Mr. Endicot. If they will not be satisfied with a testimony an oath will be in vain.

Mr. Stoughton. I am persuaded that Mrs. Hutchinson and many other godly-minded people will be satisfied without an oath.

Mrs. H. An oath Sir is an end of all strife and it is God's ordinance.

Mr. Endicot. A sign it is what respect she hath to their words, and further, pray see your argument, you will have the words that were written and yet Mr. Wilson saith he writ not all, and now you will not believe all those godly ministers without an oath.

Mrs.

¹ An assistant. — H.

Mrs. H. Mr. Wilson did affirm that which he gave in to the governor that then was to be true. (*Some reply*) But not all the truth.

Mr. Wilson. I did say so far as I did take them they were true.

*Mr. Harlakenden.*¹ I would have the spectators take notice that the court doth not suspect the evidence that is given in, though we see that whatever evidence is brought in will not satisfy, for they are resolved upon the thing and therefore I think you will not be unwilling to give your oaths.

Gov. I see no necessity of an oath in this thing seeing it is true and the substance of the matter confirmed by divers, yet that all may be satisfied, if the elders will take an oath they shall have it given them.

Dep. Gov. Let us join the things together that Mrs. Hutchinson may see what they have their oaths for.

Mrs. H. I will prove by what Mr. Wilson hath written that they never heard me say such a thing.

Mr. Sims. We desire to have the paper and have it read.

Mr. Harlakenden. I am persuaded that is the truth that the elders do say and therefore I do not see it necessary how to call them to oath.

Gov. We cannot charge any thing of untruth upon them.

Mr. Harlakenden. Besides, Mrs. Hutchinson doth say that they are not able ministers of the new testament.

Mrs. H. They need not swear to that.

Dep. Gov. Will you confess it then.

Mrs. H. I will not deny it or say it.

Dep.

¹ An assistant. — H. Roger Harlakenden, of Cambridge, of whom an account is given in Paige's *Cambridge* (p. 574).

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Dcp. Gov. You must do one.

Mrs. H. After that they have taken an oath, I will make good what I say.

Gov. Let us state the case and then we may know what to do. That which is laid to Mrs. Hutchinson's charge is this, that she hath traduced the magistrates and ministers of this jurisdiction, that she hath said the ministers preached a covenant of works and Mr. Cotton a covenant of grace, and that they were not able ministers of the gospel, and she excuses it that she made it a private conference and with a promise of secrecy, &c. now this is charged upon her, and they therefore sent for her seeing she made it her table talk, and then she said the fear of man was a snare and therefore she would not be appeared of them.

Mrs. H. This that yourself hath spoken, I desire that they may take their oaths upon.

Gov. That that we should put the reverend elders unto is this that they would deliver upon oath that which they can remember themselves.

Mr. Shepard. I know no reason of the oath but the importunity of this gentlewoman.

Mr. Endicot. You lifted up your eyes as if you took God to witness that you came to entrap none and yet you will have them swear.

Mr. Harlakenden. Put any passage unto them and see what they say.

Mrs. H. They say I said the fear of man is a snare, why should I be afraid. When I came unto them, they urging many things unto me and I being backward to answer at first, at length this scripture came into my mind 29th Prov.

15. The fear of man bringeth a snare, but whoso putteth his trust in the Lord shall be safe.

Mr. Harlakenden. This is not an essential thing.

Gov. I remember his testimony was this.

Mrs. H. Ey, that was the thing that I do deny for they were my words and they were not spoken at the first as they do alledge.

Mr. Peters. We cannot tell what was first or last, we suppose that an oath is an end of all strife and we are tender of it, yet this is the main thing against her that she charged us to be unable ministers of the gospel and to preach a covenant of works.

Gov. You do understand the thing, that the court is clear for we are all satisfied that it is truth but because we would take away all scruples, we desire that you would satisfy the spectators by your oath.

*Mr. Bishop.*¹ I desire to know before they be put to oath whether their testimony be of validity.

Dep. Gov. What do you mean to trouble the court with such questions. Mark what a flourish Mrs. Hutchinson puts upon the business, that she had witnesses to disprove what was said and here is no man to bear witness.

Mrs. H. If you will not call them in that is nothing to me.

Mr. Eliot. We desire to know of her and her witnesses what they deny and then we shall speak upon oath. I know nothing we have spoken of but we may swear to.

Mr. Sims. Ey, and more than we have spoken to.

Mr. Stoughton. I would gladly that an oath should be given

¹ One of the deputies or representatives. -- H.

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given that so the person to be condemned should be satisfied in her conscience, and I would say the same for my own conscience if I should join in the censure [*Two or three lines in the MS. are defaced and not legible*].

*Mr. Coggeshall.*¹ I desire to speak a word — It is desired that the elders would confer with Mr. Cotton before they swear.

Govern. Shall we not believe so many godly elders in a cause wherein we know the mind of the party without their testimony?

Mr. Endicott to Mr. Coggeshall. I will tell you what I say. I think that this carriage of your's tends to further casting dirt upon the face of the judges.

Mr. Harlakenden. Her carriage doth the same for she doth not object any essential thing, but she goes upon circumstances and yet would have them sworn.

Mrs. H. This I would say unto them. Forasmuch as it was affirmed by the deputy that he would bring proof of these things, and the elders they bring proof in their own cause, therefore I desire that particular witnesses be for these things that they do speak.

Gov. The elders do know what an oath is and as it is an ordinance of God so it should be used.

Mrs. H. That is the thing I desire and because the deputy spake of witnesses I have them here present.

*Mr. Colborn.*² We desire that our teacher may be called to

¹ One of the deputies for Boston.— H.

² A deputy for Boston and a ruling elder in the church.— H. William Colborn, of Boston, came to America with Winthrop, was prominent as a

church-member and deacon, and served as deputy and selectman. Though he sympathized with Wheelwright, he was not disfranchised, and died in Boston in 1662. *Vide* p. 140.

to hear what is said. — Upon this Mr. Cotton came and sat down by Mrs. Hutchinson.

Mr. Endicot. This would cast some blame upon the ministers. — Well, but whatsoever he will or can say we will believe the ministers.

Mr. Eliot. } We desire to see light why we should
Mr. Shepard. } take an oath.

Mr. Stoughton. Why it is an end of all strife and I think you ought to swear and put an end to the matter.

Mr. Peters. Our oath is not to satisfy Mrs. Hutchinson but the court.

Mr. Endicot. The assembly will be satisfied by it.

Dep. Gov. If the country will not be satisfied you must swear.

Mr. Shepard. I conceive the country doth not require it.

Dep. Gov. Let her witnesses be called.

Gov. Who be they?

Mrs. H. Mr. Leveret and our teacher and Mr. Coggeshall.

Gov. Mr. Coggeshall was not present.

Mr. Coggeshall. Yes but I was, only I desired to be silent till I should be called.

Gov. Will you Mr. Coggeshall say that she did not say so?

Mr. Coggeshall. Yes I dare say that she did not say all that which they lay against her.

Mr. Peters. How dare you look into the court to say such a word?

Mr. Coggeshall. Mr. Peters takes upon him to forbid me. I shall be silent.

Mr. Stoughton. Ey, but she intended this that they say.

Gov. Well, Mr. Leveret, what were the words? I pray speak.

Mr.

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*Mr. Leveret.*¹ To my best remembrance when the elders did send for her, Mr. Peters did with much vehemency and intreaty urge her to tell what difference there was between Mr. Cotton and them, and upon his urging of her she said. The fear of man is a snare, but they that trust upon the Lord shall be safe. And being asked wherein the difference was, she answered that they did not preach a covenant of grace so clearly as Mr. Cotton did, and she gave this reason of it because that as the apostles were for a time without the spirit so until they had received the witness of the spirit they could not preach a covenant of grace so clearly.

Gov. Don't you remember that she said they were not able ministers of the new testament?

Mrs. H. Mr. Weld and I had an hour's discourse at the window and then I spake that, if I spake it.

Mr. Weld. Will you affirm that in the court? Did not I say unto you, Mrs. Hutchinson, before the elders. When I produced the thing, you then called for proof. Was not my answer to you, leave it there, and if I cannot prove it you shall be blameless?

Mrs. H. This I remember I spake but do not you remember that I came afterwards to the window when you was writing, and there spake unto you?

Mr. Weld. No truly. (*Mrs. H.*) But I do very well.

Gov. Mr. Cotton, the court desires that you declare what you

¹ A ruling elder in Boston church. — H. Thomas Leverett came to America in 1633, and died in 1650. He was the progenitor of a distinguished family, a memoir of which is to be found in the

Genealogical Register (Vol. IV. p. 121), and also a pedigree (Vol. XII. p. 289). The *Leverett Memorial* was printed in Boston in 1856.

you do remember of the conference which was at that time and is now in question.

*Mr. Cotton.*¹ I did not think I should be called to bear witness in this cause and therefore did not labour to call to remembrance what was done; but the greatest passage that took impression upon me was to this purpose. The elders spake that they had heard that she had spoken some condemning words of their ministry, and among other things they did first pray her to answer wherein she thought their ministry did differ from mine; how the comparison sprang I am ignorant, but sorry I was that any comparison should be between me and my brethren and uncomfortable it was; she told them to this purpose that they did not hold forth a covenant of grace as I did; but wherein did we differ? why she said that they did not hold forth the seal of the spirit as he doth. Where is the difference there? say they; why saith she speaking to one or other of them, I know not to whom. You preach of the seal of the spirit upon a work and he upon free grace without a work or without respect to a work, he preaches the seal of the spirit upon free grace and you upon a work. I told her I was very sorry that she put comparisons between my ministry and their's, for she had said more than I could myself, and rather I had that she had put us in fellowship with them and not have made that discrepancy. She said, she found the difference. Upon that there grew some speeches upon the thing and I do remember I instanced to them the story of Thomas Bilney in the book of martyrs² how freely the spirit witnessed unto him

¹ Teacher of Boston church. — H. Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, ed. 1632.

² The story of Thomas Bilney is in Vol. II. pp. 258, 277, 278.

him without any respect unto a work as himself professe. Now upon this other speeches did grow. If you put me in mind of any thing I shall speak it, but this was the sum of the difference, nor did it seem to be so ill taken as it is and our brethren did say also that they would not so easily believe reports as they had done and withal mentioned that they would speak no more of it, some of them did; and afterwards some of them did say they were less satisfied than before. (And I must say that I did not find her saying they were under a covenant of works, nor that she said they did preach a covenant of works.)

Gov. You say you do not remember, but can you say she did not speak so—*Here two lines again defaced.*

Mr. Cotton. I do remember that she looked at them as the apostles before the ascension.

Mr. Peters. I humbly desire to remember our reverend teacher, May it please you to remember how this came in. Whether do you not remember that she said we were not sealed with the spirit of grace, therefore could not preach a covenant of grace, and she said further you may do it in your judgment but not in experience, but she spake plump that we were not sealed.

Mr. Cotton. You do put me in remembrance that it was asked her why cannot we preach a covenant of grace? Why, saith she, because you can preach no more than you know, or to that purpose, she spake. Now that she said you could not preach a covenant of grace I do not remember such a thing. I remember well that she said you were not sealed with the seal of the spirit.

Mr. Peters. There was a double seal found out that day which never was.

Mr.

Mr. Cotton. I know very well that she took the seal of the spirit in that sense for the full assurance of God's favour by the holy ghost, and now that place in the Ephesians¹ doth hold out that seal.

Mr. Peters. So that was the ground of our discourse concerning the great seal and the little seal.

Mr. Cotton. To that purpose I remember somebody speaking of the difference of the witness of the spirit and the seal of the spirit, some to put a distinction called it the broad seal and the little seal. Our brother Wheelwright answered if you will have it so be it so.

Mrs. H. Mr. Ward said that.

Some three or four of the ministers. Mr. Wheelwright said it.

Mr. Cotton. No, it was not brother Wheelwright's speech but one of your own expressions, and as I remember it was Mr. Ward.

Mr. Peters.

Mr. Cotton. Under favour I do not remember that.

Mr. Peters. Therefore her answer clears it in your judgment but not in your experience.

Mrs. H. My name is precious and you do affirm a thing which I utterly deny.

D. Gov. You should have brought the book with you.

Mr. Nowell. The witnesses do not answer that which you require.

Gov. I do not see that we need their testimony any further. Mr. Cotton hath expressed what he remembered, and what took impression upon him, and so I think the other elders also did remember that which took impression upon them.

Mr.

¹ Ephesians 1. 13, 14.

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Mr. Weld. I then said to Mrs. Hutchinson when it was come to this issue, why did you let us go thus long and never tell us of it?

Gov. I should wonder why the elders should move the elders of our congregation to have dealt with her if they saw not some cause.

Mr. Cotton. Brother Weld and brother Shepard, I did not then clear myself unto you that I understood her speech in expressing herself to you that you did hold forth some matter in your preaching that was not pertinent to the seal of the spirit — *Two lines defaced.*

Dep. Gov. They affirm that Mrs. Hutchinson did say they were not able ministers of the new testament.

Mr. Cotton. I do not remember it.

Mrs. H. If you please to give me leave I shall give you the ground of what I know to be true. Being much troubled to see the falseness of the constitution of the church of England, I had like to have turned separatist; whereupon I kept a day of solemn humiliation and pondering of the thing; this scripture was brought unto me — he that denies Jesus Christ to be come in the flesh is antichrist — This I considered of and in considering found that the papists did not deny him to be come in the flesh, nor we did not deny him — who then was antichrist? Was the Turk antichrist only? The Lord knows that I could not open scripture; > he must by his prophetic office open it unto me. So after that being unsatisfied in the thing, the Lord was pleased to bring this scripture out of the Hebrews. He that denies the testament denies the testator, and in this did open unto me and give me to see that those which did not teach the new covenant

covenant had the spirit of antichrist, and upon this he did discover the ministry unto me and ever since. I bleſs the Lord, he hath let me ſee which was the clear ministry and which the wrong. Since that time I confeſs I have been more choice and he hath left me to diſtinguiſh between the voice of my beloved and the voice of Moſes, the voice of John Baptiſt and the voice of antichriſt, for all thoſe voices are ſpoken of in ſcripture. Now if you do condemn me for ſpeaking what in my conſcience I know to be truth I muſt commit myſelf unto the Lord. —

Mr. Nowel. How do you know that that was the ſpirit?

Mrs. H. How did Abraham know that it was God that bid him offer his ſon, being a breach of the ſixth commandment?

Dep. Gov. By an immediate voice.

✓ *Mrs. H.* So to me by an immediate revelation.

Dep. Gov. How! an immediate revelation.

✓ *Mrs. H.* By the voice of his own ſpirit to my ſoul. I will give you another ſcripture, Jer. 46. 27, 28 — out of which the Lord ſhewed me what he would do for me and the reſt of his ſervants. — But after he was pleaſed to reveal himſelf to me I did preſently like Abraham run to Hagar. And after that he did let me ſee the atheiſm of my own heart, for which I begged of the Lord that it might not remain in my heart, and being thus, he did ſhew me this (a twelvemonth after) which I told you of before. Ever ſince that time I have been confident of what he hath revealed unto me.

*Obliter- } another place out of Daniel chap. 7. and he
ated } and for us all, wherein he ſhewed me the fitting
of the judgment and the ſtanding of all high and low before
the*

X
YEN, MAN

the Lord and how thrones and kingdoms were cast down before him. When our teacher came to New-England it was a great trouble unto me, my brother Wheelwright being put by also. I was then much troubled concerning the ministry under which I lived, and then that place in the 30th of *Isaiah* was brought to my mind. Though the Lord give thee bread of adversity and water of affliction yet shall not thy teachers be removed into corners any more, but thine eyes shall see thy teachers. The Lord giving me this promise and they being gone there was none then left that I was able to hear, and I could not be at rest but I must come hither. Yet that place of *Isaiah* did much follow me, though the Lord give thee the bread of adversity and water of affliction. This place lying I say upon me then this place in *Daniel* was brought unto me and did shew me that though I should meet with affliction yet I am the same God that delivered *Daniel* out of the lion's den, I will also deliver thee. — Therefore I desire you to look to it, for you see this scripture fulfilled this day and therefore I desire you that as you tender the Lord and the church and commonwealth to consider and look what you do. You have power over my body but the Lord *Jesus* hath power over my body and soul, and assure yourselves thus much, you do as much as in you lies to put the Lord *Jesus* Christ from you, and if you go on in this course you begin you will bring a curse upon you and your posterity, and the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

Dep. Gov. What is the scripture she brings?

Mr. Stoughton. Behold I turn away from you

Mrs. H. But now having seen him which is invisible I fear not what man can do unto me.

Gov.

Gov. Daniel was delivered by miracle do you think to be deliver'd so too?

Mrs. H. I do here speak it before the court. I look that the Lord should deliver me by his providence.

Mr. Hartakenden. I may read scripture and the most glorious hypocrite may read them and yet go down to hell.

Mrs. H. It may be so. |

*Mr. Bartholomew.*¹ I would remember one word to Mrs. Hutchinson among many others. She knowing that I did know her opinions, being she was at my house at London, she was afraid I conceive or loth to impart herself unto me, but when she came within sight of Boston and looking upon the meanness of the place, I conceive, she uttered these words, if she had not a sure word that England should be destroyed her heart would shake. Now it seemed to me at that time very strange that she should say so.

Mrs. H. I do not remember that I looked upon the meanness of the place nor did it discourage me, because I knew the bounds of my habitation were determined, &c.

Mr. Bartholomew. I speak as a member of the court. I fear that her revelations will deceive.

Gov. Have you heard of any of her revelations?

Mr. Barthol. For my own part I am sorry to see her now here and I have nothing against her but what I said was to discover what manner of spirit Mrs. Hutchinson is of; only I remember as we were once going through Paul's church yard she then was very inquisitive after revelations and

¹ A deputy, I suppose, for Salem. — In regard to whom see Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary*, Vol. 1. p. 123.
H. William Bartholomew, of Ipswich,

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and said that she had never had any great thing done about her but it was revealed to her beforehand. (*Mrs. H.*) I say the same thing again.

Mr. Bartholomew. And also that she said that she was come to New-England but for Mr. Cotton's sake. As for Mr. Hooker (as I remember) she said she liked not his spirit, only she spake of a sermon of his in the low countries wherein he said thus — it was revealed to me yesterday that England should be destroyed. She took notice of that passage and it was very acceptable with her.

Mr. Cotton. One thing let me intreat you to remember, Mr. Bartholomew, that you never spake any thing to me.

Mr. Barth. No Sir, I never spake of it to you and therefore I desire to clear Mr. Cotton.

Gov. There needs no more of that.

Mr. Barth. Only I remember her eldest daughter said in the ship that she had a revelation that a young man in the ship should be saved, but he must walk in the ways of her mother.

Mr. Sims. I could say something to that purpose, for she said — then what would you say if we should be at New-England within these three weeks, and I reprov'd her vehemently for it.

Mr. Eliot. That speech of Mr. Hooker's which they alledge is against his mind and judgment.¹

Mr. Sims. I would intreat Mrs. Hutchinson to remember, that the humble he will teach — I have spoken before of it and therefore I will leave the place with her and do desire her

¹ Mr. Eliot was mistaken. The *Mr. Hooker* avowed it afterwards at Hartford (*Magn.*, B. III. p. 62). — H.

her to consider of many expressions that she hath spoken to her husband, but I will not enlarge myself.

Mr. Endicot. I would have a word or two with leave of that which hath thus far been revealed to the court. I have heard of many revelations of Mr. Hutchinson's, but they were reports, but Mrs. Hutchinson I see doth maintain some by this discourse, and I think it is a special providence of God to hear what she hath said. Now there is a revelation you see which she doth expect as a miracle. She saith she now suffers and let us do what we will she shall be delivered by a miracle. I hope the court takes notice of the vanity of it and heat of her spirit. Now because her reverend teacher is here I should desire that he would please to speak freely whether he doth condescend to such speeches or revelations as have been here spoken of, and he will give a great deal of content.

Mr. Cotton. May it please you Sir. There are two sorts of revelations, there are [defaced] or against the word besides scripture both which [defaced] tactical and tending to danger more ways than one — there is another sort which the apostle prays the believing Ephesians may be made partakers of, and those are such as are breathed by the spirit of God and are never dispensed but in a word of God and according to a word of God, and though the word revelation be rare in common speech and we make it uncouth in our ordinary expressions, yet notwithstanding, being understood in the scripture sense I think they are not only lawful but such as christians may receive and God bear witness to it in his word, and usually he doth express it in the ministry of the word and doth accompany

it by his spirit, or else it is in the reading of the word in some chapter or verse and whenever it comes it comes flying upon the wings of the spirit.

Mr. Endicot. You give me satisfaction in the thing and therefore I desire you to give your judgment of Mrs. Hutchinson; what she hath said you hear and all the circumstances thereof.

Mr. Cotton. I would demand whether by a miracle she doth mean a work above nature or by some wonderful providence for that is called a miracle often in the psalms.

Mrs. H. I desire to speak to our teacher. You know Sir what he doth declare though he doth not know himself
[*something wanting.*]

now either of these ways or at this present time it shall be done, yet I would not have the court so to understand me that he will deliver me now even at this present time.

Dep. Gov. I desire Mr. Cotton to tell us whether you do approve of Mrs. Hutchinson's revelations as she hath laid them down.

Mr. Cotton. I know not whether I do understand her, but this I say, if she doth expect a deliverance in a way of providence — then I cannot deny it.

Dep. Gov. No Sir we did not speak of that.

Mr. Cotton. If it be by way of miracle then I would suspect it.

Dep. Gov. Do you believe that her revelations are true?

✓ *Mr. Cotton.* That she may have some special providence of God to help her is a thing that I cannot bear witness against.

Dep. Gov. Good Sir I do ask whether this revelation be of God or no?

Mr.

Mr. Cotton. I should desire to know whether the sentence of the court will bring her to any calamity, and then I would know of her whether she expects to be delivered from that calamity by a miracle or a providence of God.

✓ *Mrs. H.* By a providence of God I say I expect to be delivered from some calamity that shall come to me.

Gover. The case is altered and will not stand with us now, but I see a marvellous providence of God to bring things to this pass that they are. We have been hearkening about the trial of this thing and now the mercy of God by a providence hath answered our desires and made her to lay open her self and the ground of all these disturbances to be by revelations, for we receive no such

made out of the ministry of the word

and so one scripture after another, but all this while there is no use of the ministry of the word nor of any clear call of God by his word, but the ground work of her revelations is
→ the immediate revelation of the spirit and not by the ministry of the word, and that is the means by which she hath very much abused the country that they shall look for revelations and are not bound to the ministry of the word, but
* God will teach them by immediate revelations and this hath been the ground of all these tumults and troubles, and I would that those were all cut off from us that trouble us, for this is the thing that hath been the root of all the mischief.

Court. We all consent with you.

Gov. Ey it is the most desperate enthusiasm in the world, for nothing but a word comes to her mind and then an application is made which is nothing to the purpose, and
this ✓

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this is her revelations when it is impossible but that the word and spirit should speak the same thing.

Mr. Endicot. I speak in reference to Mr. Cotton. I am tender of you Sir and there lies much upon you in this particular, for the answer of Mr. Cotton doth not free him from that way which his last answer did bring upon him, therefore I beseech you that you'd be pleased to speak a word to that which Mrs. Hutchinson hath spoken of her revelations as you have heard the manner of it. Whether do you witness for her or against her.

Mr. Cotton. This is that I said Sir, and my answer is plain that if she doth look for deliverance from the hand of God by his providence, and the revelation be in a word or according to a word, that I cannot deny.

- *Mr. Endicot.* You give me satisfaction.

- *Dep. Gov.* No, no, he gives me none at all.

Mr. Cotton. But if it be in a way of miracle or a revelation without the word that I do not assent to, but look at it as a delusion, and I think so doth she too as I understand her.

Dep. Gov. Sir, you weary me and do not satisfy me.

Mr. Cotton. I pray Sir give me leave to express my self. In that sense that she speaks I dare not bear witness against it.

Mr. Nowell. I think it is a devilish delusion.

Gover. Of all the revelations that ever I read of I never read the like ground laid as is for this. The Enthusiasts and Anabaptists had never the like.

Mr. Cotton. You know Sir, that their revelations broach new matters of faith and doctrine.

Gover. So do these and what may they breed more if they

they be let alone. I do acknowledge that there are such revelations as do concur with the word but there hath not been any of this nature.

Dep. Gov. I never saw such revelations as these among the Anabaptists, therefore am sorry that Mr. Cotton should stand to justify her.

Mr. Peters. I can say the same and this runs to enthusiasm, and I think that is very disputable which our brother Cotton hath spoken

[wanting] an immediate promise that he will deliver them

[wanting] in a day of trouble.

Gov. It overthrows all. _____ X

Dep. Gov. These disturbances that have come among the
> Germans have been all grounded upon revelations, and so
they that have vented them have stirred up their hearers to
take up arms against their prince and to cut the throats of
one another, and these have been the fruits of them, and
whether the devil may inspire the same into their hearts here
I know not, for I am fully persuaded that Mrs. Hutchinson
is deluded by the devil, because the spirit of God speaks truth
in all his servants.

Gov. I am persuaded that the revelation she brings forth is delusion.

All the court but some two or three ministers cry out, we all believe it — we all believe it.

Mr. Endicot. I suppose all the world may see where the foundation of all these troubles among us lies.

Mr. Eliot. I say there is an expectation of things promised, but to have a particular revelation of things that shall fall out, there is no such thing in the scripture.

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Gov. We will not limit the word of God.

*Mr. Collicut.*¹ It is a great burden to us that we differ from Mr. Cotton and that he should justify these revelations. I would intreat him to answer concerning that about the destruction of England.

Gov. Mr. Cotton is not called to answer to any thing but we are to deal with the party here standing before us.

Mr. Bartholomew. My wife hath said that Mr. Wheelwright was not acquainted with this way until that she imparted it unto him.

Mr. Brown. Inasmuch as I am called to speak, I would therefore speak the mind of our brethren. Though we had sufficient ground for the censure before, yet now she having vented herself and I find such flat contradiction to the scripture in what she saith, as to that in the first to the Hebrews — God at sundry times spake to our fathers — For my part I understand that scripture and other scriptures of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the apostle writing to Timothy saith that the scripture is able to make one perfect — therefore I say the mind of the brethren — I think she deserves no less a censure than hath been already past but rather something more, for this is the foundation of all mischief and of all those bastardly things which have been overthrowing by that great meeting. They have all come out from this cursed fountain.

Gov. Seeing the court hath thus declared itself and hearing what hath been laid to the charge of Mrs. Hutchinson and

¹ A deputy, I know not for what town, but I take him to be an inhabitant of Boston, and a principal

merchant. — H. Richard Collicott of Dorchester.

and especially what she by the providence of God hath declared freely without being asked, if therefore it be the mind of the court, looking at her as the principal cause of
> all our trouble, that they would now consider what is to be done to her. —

Mr. Coddington. I do think that you are going to censure therefore I desire to speak a word.

Gov. I pray you speak.

Mr. Coddington. There is one thing objected against the meetings. What if she designed to edify her own family in her own meetings may none else be present?

Gov. If you have nothing else to say but that, it is pity Mr. Coddington that you should interrupt us in proceeding to censure.

Mr. Coddington. I would say more Sir, another thing you lay to her Charge is her speech to the elders. Now I do not see any clear witness against her, and you know it is a rule of the court that no man may be a judge and an accuser too. I do not speak to disparage our elders and their callings, but I do not see any thing that they accuse her of witnessed against her, and therefore I do not see how she should be censured for that. And for the other thing which hath fallen from her occasionally by the spirit of God, you know the spirit of God witnesses with our spirits, and there is no truth in scripture but God bears witness to it by his spirit, therefore I would entreat you to consider whether those things you have alledged against her deserve such censure as you are about to pass, be it to banishment or imprisonment. And again here is nothing proved about the elders, only that she said they did not teach a covenant

of grace so clearly as Mr. Cotton did, and that they were in the state of the apostles before the ascension. Why I hope this may not be offensive nor any wrong to them.

Gov. Pass by all that hath been said formerly and her own speeches have been ground enough for us to proceed upon.

Mr. Coddington. I beseech you do not speak so to force things along, for I do not for my own part see any equity in the court in all your proceedings. Here is no law of God that she hath broken nor any law of the country that she hath broke, and therefore deserves no censure, and if she say that the elders preach as the apostles did, why they preached a covenant of grace and what wrong is that to them, for it is without question that the apostles did preach a covenant of grace, though not with that power, till they received the manifestation of the spirit, therefore I pray consider what you do, for here is no law of God or man broken.

Mr. Harlakenden. Things thus spoken will stick. I would therefore that the assembly take notice that here is none that condemns the meeting of christian women; but in such a way and for such an end that it is to be detested. And then tho' the matter of the elders be taken away yet there is enow besides to condemn her, but I shall speak no further.

Dep. Gov. We shall be all sick with fasting.

Mr. Colburn. I dissent from censure of banishment.

Mr. Stoughton. The censure which the court is about to pass in my conscience is as much as she deserves, but because she desires witnesses and there is none in way of witnesses therefore I shall desire that no offence be taken if I do not
formally

formally condemn her because she hath not been formally convicted as others are by witnesses upon oath.

Mr. Coddington. That is a scruple to me also, because Solomon saith, every man is partial in his own cause, and here is none that accuses her but the elders, and she spake nothing to them but in private, and I do not know what rule they had to make the thing publick, secret things ought to be spoken in secret and publick things in publick, therefore I think they have broken the rules of God's word.

Gov. What was spoken in the presence of many is not to be made secret.

Mr. Coddington. But that was spoken but to a few and in private.

Gov. In regard Mr. Stoughton is not satisfied to the end all scruples may be removed we shall desire the elders to take their oaths.

Here now was a great whispering among the ministers, some drew back others were animated on.

Mr. Eliot. If the court calls us out to swear we will swear.

Gov. Any two of you will serve.

Mr. Stoughton. There are two things that I would look to discharge my conscience of, 1st to hear what they testify upon oath and 2dly to —

Gov. It is required of you Mr. Weld and Mr. Eliot.

Mr. Weld. } We shall be willing.
Mr. Eliot. }

Gov. We'll give them their oaths. You shall swear to
Mr. Peters held up } the truth and nothing but the truth as
his hand also. } far as you know. So help you God.
What you do remember of her speak, pray speak.

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Mr. Eliot. I do remember and I have it written, that which she spake first was, the fear of man is a snare, why should she be afraid but would speak freely. The question being asked whether there was a difference between Mr. Cotton and us, she said there was a broad difference. I would not stick upon words — the thing she said — and that Mr. Cotton did preach a covenant of grace and we of works and she gave this reason — to put a work in point of evidence is a revealing upon a work. We did labour then to convince her that our doctrine was the same with Mr. Cotton's: She said no, for we were not sealed. This is all I shall say.

Gov. What say you Mr. Weld?

Mr. Weld. I will speak to the things themselves — these two things I am fully clear in — she did make a difference in three things, the first I was not so clear in, but that she said this I am fully sure of, that we were not able ministers of the new testament and that we were not clear in our experience because we were not sealed.

Mr. Eliot. I do further remember this also, that she said we were not able ministers of the gospel because we were but like the apostles before the ascension.

Mr. Coddington. This was I hope no disparagement to you.

Gov. Well, we see in the court that she doth continually say and unsay things.

Mr. Peters. I was much grieved that she should say that our ministry was legal. Upon which we had a meeting as you know and this was the same she told us that there was a broad difference between Mr. Cotton and us. Now if Mr.
Cotton

Cotton do hold forth things more clearly than we, it was our grief we did not hold it. so clearly as he did, and upon those grounds that you have heard.

Mr. Coddington. What wrong was that to say that you were not able ministers of the new testament or that you were like the apostles — methinks the comparison is very good.

Gov. Well, you remember that she said but now that she should be delivered from this calamity.

Mr. Cotton. I remember she said she should be delivered by God's providence, whether now or at another time she knew not.

Mr. Peters. I profess I thought Mr. Cotton would never have took her part.

Mr. Stoughton. I say now this testimony doth convince me in the thing, and I am fully satisfied the words were pernicious, and the frame of her spirit doth hold forth the same.

Gov. The court hath already declared themselves satisfied concerning the things you hear, and concerning the troublefomeness of her spirit and the danger of her course amongst us, which is not to be suffered. Therefore if it be the mind of the court that Mrs. Hutchinson for these things that appear before us is unfit for our society, and if it be the mind of the court that she shall be banished out of our liberties and imprisoned till she be sent away, let them hold up their hands.

All but three. ✕

Those that are contrary minded hold up yours,
Mr. Coddington and Mr. Colborn, only.

Mr.

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*Mr. Jennison.*¹ I cannot hold up my hand one way or the other, and I shall give my reason if the court require it.

Gov. Mrs. Hutchinson, the sentence of the court you hear is that you are banished from out of our jurisdiction as being a woman not fit for our society, and are to be imprisoned till the court shall send you away.

Mrs. H. I desire to know wherefore I am banished?

Gov. Say no more, the court knows wherefore and is satisfied.

¹ A deputy, I suppose, of Ipswich. — H. Probably William Jennison of Wattertown. Winthrop (Vol. II. p. * 76) narrates an incident which occurred in

1644 characteristic of this man, and in keeping with the fact of his refusal to vote at the trial.



A Report of the Trial of Mrs. Ann Hutchin- son before the Church in Boston, March, 1638.¹

“By My Brother Willson.” (Before M^r Hutchinsons Ex-
amination and her Answer in the Meetinghowse at Boston
in New England one the Lecture Day March 15. 1638,
when

¹ The examination of Mrs. Hutchin-
son, which resulted in her banishment
from the colony, took place before the
General Court assembled at Cambridge,
on the 7th and 8th of November, now
the 17th and 18th. She passed the suc-
ceeding winter in Roxbury, at the house
of Joseph Welde; but in March, 1638,
she was called before the Boston church
of which she was a member, as a subject
for ecclesiastical discipline.

The 15th, now the 25th, of the month
was appointed for the proceedings, which
excited the deepest interest throughout
the colony. The story of what took
place has been recounted in detail else-
where (*Three Episodes*, pp. 508-532),
and no further reference to it is here
necessary. The chief authority for it is
found in the report here reprinted from
the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts
Historical Society* for October, 1888
(Series II. Vol. IV. pp. 161-191).

The copy of the original manuscript
from which this report was printed was
made by President Stiles of Yale Col-
lege, in 1771, he then being the pastor
of the church in Newport, R. I. It
was preserved in the library of Yale
College; the original manuscript is not
now traceable, but a description of it,
and a statement of the hands through
which it passed before President Stiles
met with it, was given by him, and is
printed in the *Proceedings of the Massa-
chusetts Historical Society*.

The document has no formal title,
and has never been printed, except in
the *Society Proceedings* above referred
to.

² The report is assumed by Dr. Stiles
to have been taken down at the time of
the proceedings by Robert Keayne, in
regard to whom *vide infra*, p. 393, n.
Keayne married Ann Mansfield, a sister
of the wife of the Rev. John Willson.

when she was accused of divers Errors. & unsound Opinions wch she held, as was taken from her owne Mouth by M^r Shephard & M^r Wells¹ Ministers & proved by suer Witneses.”)

“ We have herd this day very sweetly that we are to cast downe all our Crownes at the feete of Ch^r: Je^s: Soe let every one be content to deny all Relations of Father, Mother, Sister, Brother, Friend, Enemy. & to cast downe all our Crownes & whatsoever Judgment or Opinion that is taken up may be cast downe at the Feete of Christ, & let all be carried by the Rules of Gods Word & tried by that Rule, and if thear be any Error let no one Rejoyce. None but the Divells in Hell will rejoyce, but in all ovr proceedings this day, let us lift up the name of Ch: Jef: & so proceed in Love in this day's proceedinge.

*M^r Oliver.*² I am to acquaynt all this Congregation, that whereas our Sister Hutchinson was not hear at the Beginning of this Exercise, it was not out of any Contempt or Neglect to the Ordinance, but because she hath bine longe [under] Durance, she is so weake that she conceaves herselfe not fitt nor able to have bine hear soe longe togeather; this she sent to our Elders.

*M^r Leverit, our other Elder.*³ I am to request those that are Members of the Congregation, that they would draw as neare togeather as they can, & into such places as thay may be distinguished from the rest of the Congregation, that whan thear Consent or Dissent is required to the Things wch

¹ Rev. Thomas Welde, of Roxbury.
² Thomas Oliver, chosen ruling elder of the church of Boston November 22, 1632. Thomas Oliver was from Bristol,

England, and came to New England in 1632. He died, at the age of ninety, in 1658.

³ *Supra*, p. 264.

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The Church Trial.

wch shall be read: we may know how thay doe exprefs themselves ayther in the allowinge or condemninge of them.

M^r Leverit. Sister Hutchinson: hear is divers opinions layd to your charge by M^r Shephard & M^r Frost,¹ & I must request you in the name of the Church to declare whether you hould them or renownce them as thay be read to you:

1. That the Soules (Ecl. 3. 18-21) of all men by Nature are mortal.
2. That those that (1 Cor. 6. 19) y^t are united to Ch: have 2 Bodies, xts & a new Body, & you knew not how Ch: should be united to our fleshly Bodys.
3. That our Bodies shall not rise (1 Cor. 15. 44) wth Ch: Je: not the same Bodies at the last day.
4. That the Resurreccion mentioned 1 Cor. 15. is not of our Resurreccion at the last day, but of our Union to Ch: Je:
5. That thear be no created graces in the humane Nature of Ch: nor in Beleevers after Union.
6. That you had no scripture to Warrant ch: beinge now in Heaven in his humane Nature.
7. That the Disciples wear not converted at Ch: Death.
8. That thear is no Kingdom of Heaven, but Christ Jesus.
9. That the first Thing we receive for our Assurance is our Election.

These are alledged by M^r Shephard.² Next from Roxberie:

I.

X ¹ Probably Edmund Frost, ruling elder of the church at Cambridge.
 ✓ ² These nine points, alleged by Mr. Shepard, correspond to Nos. 1, 3-7, 9,

11, 14, and 16, in the list *supra*, pp. 218-219. The next seven points are Nos. 8, 17, 21, 23, 25-27, *supra*, pp. 218-220.

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- ✓ 1. That Sanctification can be no Evidence of a good Estate in no wise.
- ✓ * 2. That her Revelations about future Events are to be beleevd as well as Scripture because the same holy Ghost did indite both.
3. That Abraham was not in savinge Estate till he offered Isack, & so savinge the firmnes of Gods Election he might have perished eternally for any Worke of Grace y^r was in him.
4. That an Hipocrite may have the Righteousnes of Adam & perish.
- ✓* 5. That we are not bound to the Law, not as a Rule of Life.
6. That not beinge bound to the Law, no Transgression of the Law is sinfull.
7. That you see no Warrant in Scripture to prove that the Image of God in Adam was Righteousnes & trew Holines.

These are alledged agaynst you by M^r Wells & M^r Eliott.

M^r Leverit. It is desired by the Church, Sister Hutchinson, that you expresse whether this be your opinion or not.

M^r Hutchinson. If this be Error than it is myne & I ought to lay it downe: if it be truth it is not myne but Ch: Je: & than I am not to lay it downe. But I desire of the Church to demand one Question. By what Rule of the Word, whan these Elders shall come to me in private to desire Satisfaction in some poynts, & and doe professe in the sight of God that thay did not come to Intrap nor insnare me, & now without speakinge to me & expressing any Unsatisfaction would come to bringe it publickly into the Church

Church before they had privately delt with me, for them to come & inquire for Light, & afterwards to bare Witness agaynst it, I thinke it is a Breach of Church Rule, to bringe a Thing in publike before they have delt with me in private.

M^r Cotten. To answ^r this, indeed, if thear be any playne Breach of Rule, then yow may: but if thear be not a manifest Breach, than the church hath not power to make Inquisition in a doubtful Cafe.

M^r Shephard. I desire to aske this Question of M^r Hutchinson: Whether she accuse any of us, or no, of such a Breach of Rule.

M^r Hutchinson. I aske a Quest. : thear was none wth me but myfelfe, & I may not accuse an Elder under 2 or 3 Witnesses.

M^r Cotten. Brother Shephard, if you cane expres any thinge that concerns this Matter, yow shall doe well to give God Glory, & speake.

M^r Shephard. For my first cominge to M^r Hutchinson, I lyinge in the Towne all night was . . . importuned by some theare to goe & see M^r Hutchinson, & soe I did goe to desire further Satisfaction from her, for some speeches that she had used in the Court, wch I did not well understand. At my second cominge to her, be[ing] sent by special providences of God, I did tell her, that I came not to Intrap her, nor had not than any Thought nayther doe I know wherein I could deale more lovingly wth this yo^r Sister than to bringe her thus before yow. And whearas she sayeth that we delt not with her, I must needs say that I never came to her but I bare Witness & left some Testimony behind me agaynst her Opinions, yet I did not publish any
Thinge

Thinge of the Conference, but kept it in my own Brest. But seeinge the Flewntnes of her Tongue & her Willingness to open herselfe & to divulge her Opinions & to sowe her seed in us that are but highway side and Strayngers to her, & therefore would doe much more to her own Jeolofie & to them that are mor nearly like to her, for I account her a verye dayngerous Woman to sowe her corrupt opinions to the infection of many, & therefore the more need yow have to looke to her, & therefore at my third Cominge to her I tould her that I came to deale with her & labour to reduce her from her Errors & to bare witness agayst them, therefor I do marvell y^t she will say that we bringe it into publicke before I delt with her in private. H[ebrews] 4, 12

M^r Hutchinson. I did not howld divers of these Thinges I am accused of, but did only ask a Question. Eccl. 3. 18-21.

M^r Shephard. I would have this Congregation know, that the vilest Errors that ever was brought into the Church was brought in by way of Questions 42, 7.

M^r Cotton. Brother we consent with you; therefor Sister Hutchinson it will be most satisfactorie to the Congregation for you to answer to the Things as thay are objected agaynst yow in order.

M^r Hutchinson. I desire they may be read

M^r Cotton. Yo^r first opinion layd to yo^r Charge is *That the Soules of all Men by nature are mortall & die like Beastes.* and for that you alledge Eccl. 3. 18-21.

M^r Hutchinson. I desire that place might be answered; the spirit that God gives returns

M^r Cotton. That place speaketh that the spirit ascends upwards, soe Eccles. 12. 7. Mans spirit doth not returne to

to Dust as mans body doth but to God. The foul of man is immortall

M^r Hutchinson. Every Man consists of Soul & Body. now *Adam dies not except his soule & Body dye.* & in Heb: 4. the word is lively in Operation, & devides between soule & Spirit: Soe than the Spirit that God gives man, returnes to God indeed, but the Soule dyes. & That is the spirit Eccles. speakes of, & not of the Soule. Luk. 19. 10

M^r Cotton. If you howld that Adams Soule & body dyes & was not redeemed or restored by Ch. Je. it will over- through our Redemption. both Soule & Body is bought with a price Luk 19. 10 I come to seek & save what was lost. 1. C. 6. E. [= 1 Cor. 6th ch., end].

M^r Hutchinson. I acknowledged I am redeemed from my vayne conversation & other Redemptions, but it is no where sayd that he came to redeem the seed of Adam but the seed of Abraham

Brother Willson. I desire befor yow lay downe your Scruples that you would seriously consider of the places alledged & of that in 1 Cor 6. end: the spirit of God needs no redemption, but he speaks thear neyther of Gods Spirit but of our Spirits.

M^r Hutchinson. I speake not of Gods Spirit now: but I will propound my mayne scruple and that is how a Thing that is Immortally miserable can be immortally happie.

M^r Cotten. He that makes miserable can make us happy

M^r Hutchinson. I desire to hear God speak this & not man. Shew me whear thear is any Scripture to prove it that speakes soe.

M^r Cotten. Yow doe not say that the soule is not immortall but that this Imortalety is purchased from Christ

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M^r Hutchinson. Yes Sir

M^r Cotten. Y^t in Eccles. proveth that the soule is the Gift of God & that it hath no Relation to such fadinge & destroyinge matter as his Body was made of. Mat 10. 28. 1 Thef. 5. 23.

M^r Hutchinson. Doe yow thinke his naturall Life is gone into Heaven, & that we shall goe into Heaven with our naturall Life

M^r Cotten. Thear is a soule that is immortal Mat. 10. 28. & our nature shall goe into heaven but not our corrupt Nature.

M^r Hutchinson. Than yow have both a Soule & Spirit that shall be faved. I desire you to answer that in 1 Thefs. 5. 23. Yo^r hole *Spirit Soule & body*, & that in Pfalms he hath redeemed his soule from hell.

M^r Cotten. Sister, doe not shut your Eyes agaynst the Truth. all thease places prove that the soule is Immortall

M^r Hutchison. *The Spirit is immortall indeed. but prove that the Soule is:* for that place in Mathew wch yow bringe of Casting the soul into hell. is ment of the Spirit.

M^r Cotten. Thease are principles of o^r christian Fayth, & not denyed. the Spirit is sometimes put for the Contience, & for the Giftes of the Spirit y^t fits the soule for Gods Service.

M^r Hutchison. The ho. Ghost makes this Distinction between the soule & Body & not I.

M^r Cotten. *If wicked men have the Immortalitie of thear Soules purchased to them by Ch. Je.* than the Divells have Immortalitie purchased to them by Ch.

Governour: She thinks that the Soule is annihilated by the

the Judgment that was sentenced upon Adam. her Error springs from her Mistaking of the Curse of God upon Adam, for that Curse doth not implye Annihilation of the soule & body, but only a dissolution of the Soule & Body.

M^r Hutchison. I will take that into Consideration, for it is of more wayte to me than any thinge wch yet hath bine spoken.

Govern^r. As the Body remaynes an Earthly substance after Dissolution, soe the Soule remaynes a spirituall Substance after the Curse, though we see not what substance it is turned into after Dissolution.

M^r Eliot. She thinks the Soule to be Nothinge but a Breath, & so vanisbeth. I pray put that to her.

M^r Hutchison. I thinke the soule to be nothing but Light.

Brother Willson. If the Soule be but a Breath, than how doth Ch: say that a mans Soule is better than the whole World.

M^r Cotten. The Sume of her Opinion is that the soules of men by Creation is no other or better than the soules of beastes. wch. dye. & *are mortall, but are made immortall* by the Redemption of Ch. Je. to wch. hath bine Answ^r that Soule is Imortall. by Creation. & some places brought to prove that they are, namely the soules of the wicked [are] cast into Hell forever, & the soules of the godly are kept in a blameles frame unto Immortall Glory

M^r Leverit. The Church is desired to exprefs, whither what yow have now heard give yow Satisfaction & sufficient Light in the poynt in Question

*Sargeon Savidge.*¹ My Scruple is seeing the Church is not accused

¹ *Supra*, p. 39; *infra*, p. 394, note 1.

accused of this Opinion, but one partie, whether we should presently express our Consent or Dissent when the partie that holds it is not satisfied nor convinced, but rather that the church may have Time first to consider of it.¹

Brother Willson. It was usiall in the former Times when any Blaspheemie or Idolatrie was held forth they did use to rent their Garments & tare their haires of their heads. in signe of Lothinge, & if we deny the Resurrection of the Body, than let us turne Epicures. Let us eate & drinke & doe any Thing, to-morrow we shall dye: & when all the Priests of Baall pleaded for Baall & Eliah proved the Lord to be God, if any one had a scruple . . . & was not satisfied but Baall was still God, should one mans scruple or doubt hinder all the rest of the Congregation, wch are satisfied, to crye out, that the Lord is God, the Lord is God, & the Lord only is the Lord.

Govern. The whole Congregation but one Brother is sufficiently satisfied wth what hath bine allready spoken to this poynt to be sufficient: therefor let us proceed to the next.

Brother Willson. I desire to hear our Sister speake, what becomes of that Spirit when the body dyes, for I thinke she contradicts herselfe.

M^r Hutchison. I spake of the Spirit that God gave: that returns to God that gave it.

M^r Cotten. We are not to hear what naturall affection¹ will say, for we are to forsake Father & Mother. Wife. & children for Christ Je. 1 C[orinthians] 5. 12.

Brother Willson. This that will not confesse me before men: him will not I confesse befor my father wch is in Heaven:

¹ *Supra*, p. 223.

Heaven: this is the Rule of God, by wch the church should proceed.

M^r Cotten. Yow see how far naturall affection doth pre-
> vayne wth Children to speake for thear Mother, & thearfor
it concerns others of the Congregation to take heed how
they linke themselves with any that hould . . . damnable
Errors, & I am sorry to hear any of our Brethren to be soe
brought up that thay should not hear of the Immortallitie
of the soule.

Govern^r. I wonder thear should be any scruple in this
Thing wch is practised in all the Churches, to give some
signe whether what hath bine spoken doe give satisfaction to
the Church or no; that soe we may proceed

M^r Cotten. I would aske our sifter this Question, *whether
the Soule, body & spirit be not Immortal* 1 P[eter] 3. 19

M^r Huchison. it is more than I know: how doe we *prove*
that both soule & body are saved.

Brother Willson. I pray God kepe yo^r hole body soule &
body may be kept blameles to Salvation

M^r Hutchison. It is say^d thay are kept blameles to *the*
coming of Ch. Je. not to Salvation

Brother Willson. what doe we mene by the Cominge of
Ch. Je.

M^r Hutchison. By Cominge of Ch: thear he meanes,
his cominge to us in Union. 1 46 4 [= Romans 6. 4?]

Brother Willson. I looke at this Opinion to be dayngerous
& damnable. & to be no lesse than Sadducisme. & Athiisme
& therefore to be detested.

M^r Hutchison. If Error be the Thing yow intend, than
I desire to know what is the Error for wch. I was banished

for I am suer this is not. for then thear was no such Expressi-
 on from me on this. The most part of the Church did
 exprefs themselves satisfied wth what hath bine spoken &
*by Lifting up of thear hands. did show thear Dislike of it &
 did condemn it as an Error.*

*Mr Dampford.*¹ Whan it comes to a case of Testimony &
 a baringe Witnes to a Truth of God. & than whan the
 Truth is like to [be] cried downe, than it is time to speake;
 this Question of the Immortalitie of the soule is *not new.*
 but an Ayntient Heresie. & a most censurable & gives way
 to Libertanisme. *And this poynt was disputed a whole day
 togather before Adrian the Pope: who like a Beast con-
 cluded this, that he that speakes for the Immortallitie of the
 soul speakes most like to the Scriptures, but he that speakes of
 the Mortallitie of the soul speakes most to my minde & desire,
 & soe it is in this very Thing: thay that speake for the
 Mortaletie of the soule speake most for Licentiousness &
 sinfull Liberty.* Therefore . . . Questions that have bine
 started about this hath bine, as hath bine sayd, from naturall
Affection, and soe any scruple of Contience that some made
 whether thay may expres thear Judgments by Vote or no:
 I thinke it is according to the Rule. & doe not see how we
 can bare Witnes to the Truth or agaynst any Error but by
 expresseing the' Assents or Dissents, ayther by silence or
 Liftinge up thear Hands. that in Math 18 in case of offen-
 ders brought to the Church the Rule is. if they will not hear
 the Church let him be as an Heathen or Publican. Now
 what

¹ The Rev. John Davenport. The name was corrupted into *Dansforth*, and the *th* then received the pronunciation of *d*, *Mather* in the same way being pro-

nounced, and not infrequently spelled, *Mader*. *Vide Cotton's Answer to Roger Williams*, in *Narragansett Club Publications*, Vol. II. p. 103.

what is ment by Church: only the Officers, or the whole Church? Now it is playne it is the whole Church. Now how can the Church expresse themselves, but ayther by thear *Votes* or *Silence*: & soe in castinge out the Incestious person in 1 Cor. V. how shall the Churches consent be known. except they expresse it. one way or other: therefor I thinke that should be no Scruple

M^r Cotten. We come to the second poynt. By the purchase & Redemption of Ch: the Soules are made immortall tho by Creation they are mortall

M^r Hutchison. The Soule is immortall by Redemption. |

M^r Cotten. Yow have no scripture to prove this. Therefor yow ought not to prostitute your Fayth to any one no not to your owne Inventions. and yow have herd playne places agaynst it. as that the *Spirits of wicked men are in Hell*: & yow have herd that the soules of the faythfull are in Heaven.

M^r Damphord. *A soule may be Immortall & not miserable.* Now the Curse is this, that Miscry is annexed to Imortalitie. Imortalitie was a Gift to the Spirit in thear very Beinge: the *soule cannot have Imortaletic in itself but from God from whom it hath its beinge.*

M^r Hutchison. *I thanke the Lord I have Light.* & I see more Light a greate deale by M^r Damphords opening of it.

M^r Cotten. Than yow revoke what yow have delivered or held in this Poynt.

M^r Hutchison. *Sos far as I understand M^r Damphord. I pray let some body open this: How the soul is Imortall by Creation.*

M^r Damphord. It is immortall as the Ayngells are by Creation.

M^r

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M^r Hutchison If the soule be Immortall by Ch: how can the Soule dye: but the Curse sayeth that in the day thou eateth thereof thou shalt dye

M^r Damphord. *The soule doth not dye, but the Person of Adam, & not the soule. But the person of Adam is redeemed by Ch. Je.; now the Ayngells & Divells are Imortall not by the Redemption of Christ, but by Nature & Creation*

M^r Cotten. Sister, the Comparison is familiar & usual

M^r Damphord. Yow must distinguish betwene the *life of the Soule & the Life of the Body.* the Life of the Body is mortall but the Life of the Soule is immortall. Eccl. 12. thear the Spirit signifies the soule, in Esai 53. 10. 11. he shall make his soule an offering for sine.

M^r Hutchison. *I am clear in this now.*

M^r Damphord. Than yow renounce what yow held in both those poynts

M^r Hutchison. *Yes. I doe, takinge Soule as M^r Damphord doth. Soe thear was my Mistake. I tooke Soule for Life.*

M^r Damphord. The Spirit is not a Third Substance, but the Bent & Inclination of the soule & all the faculties thearof. now this is not a substance differinge from the soule, & that Spirit in Ecclesiastes is ment of the Soule, the Spirit returns to God that gave it, that is, the Soule or substance thereof

M^r Hutchison. I doe not differ from M^r Damphord, as he expresth himselfe

M^r Damphord. The Spirit thear in Theff. is as the Bias to the Soule

Brother Willson. But the Quest. is whether that Spirit in Theffa: be Imortall or not.

M^r Damphord. *That Word Spirit in Ecclesiastes is ment the*

the Soule, & that Spirit in Theſſa. is not the ſubſtance of the ſoule but a Qualitie of it. That ſoule wch: Ch: ſpeakes of in Mathew, He caſts both ſoule & Body into Hell, thear ſoule is not ment ſpirit but ſoule

M^r: Hutchiſon, I may ſpeake playnelye whether yow thinke that the ſoules of men are Imortall by Generation or mortall. & ſoe fadeth away like the ſoule of a Beaſt

M^r: Hutchiſon. Now M^r Damphord hath opened it. it is cleare to me. or God by him hath given me Light

M^r Cotten. Siſter, ſpeake to this, Whether yow conceive that the divine & gracious Qualeties of the ſoules of Beleevers be Immortall or no & ſhall goe wth the ſoule into Heaven, & whether yow think the Evell Qualeties of the ſoules of wicked men & thear Evell Diſpoſitions ſhall goe wth thear Soules to Hell or no.

M^r: Hutchiſon. I know not prefantly what to ſay to this.

M^r Damphord. Yow doe than conſent to the two fiſt Questions that the Coming of Ch: in Theſſa. to the ſoule is not ment of Ch: Cominge in Union but of his Cominge at the day of Judgment.

M^r: Hutchiſon. I doe not acknowledge it to be an Error but a Miſtake. I doe acknowledge my Expreſſion to be Ironious. but my Judgment was not Ironious, for I held befor as yow did but could not expreſs it ſoe.

John 12
Cor. 4. 16. 3 Things.

That men when they beleeeve have. a New Body. & they have 2 bodies. 1 C[or]. 15. 44. 37

M^r Cotten. If yow meane they have 2 bodies, one of ſin & another of death, & one outward body. & an Inward Body of Graces.

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M^r Hutchison. I meane as that Scripture meanes, 1 Cor. 4. 16.

M^r Cotten. Yow say yow doe not know whether Je: Ch: be united to this body of ours or . . . ou' fleshly bodiea. thear lies the scruple & the absurdetie of it: therefor, remember, both soule & body are united to Ch. in our spirituall Estate the Body is a sanctified Instrument to hear & to be holy. & Ch: is united to that body wch we made the body of an Harlot. *Your bodies are the Temples of the Ho. Gho:* that very body, that befor we had taken & made the Members of Harlots.

M^r Hutchison. I desire yow to speake to that place in 1 Cor. 15. 37. 44 for I doe quest. whether the same Body that dies, shall rise agayne.

M^r Damphord. The same Body that is sowen, the same Body shall rise agayne. it is sowen a naturall Body but it shall rise a spirituall Body.

M^r Hutchison. We all rise in Ch: Je: in Rom. 6 he showes that he dyes.

M^r Damphord. that is another kind of Death. but speak first of the other Death. & clear that he rayseth us the same Body. & not another Body for substance.

M^r Hutchison. I quest. whether your body be sowen or no

M^r Damphord. When I dye than my body is sowen: & turned into Corruption & dust. & that dust wch is sowen shall rise agayne in a body.

M^r Hutchison. Than come to Rom. 6. 2-7: thear is no Death of a Child of God: but a puttinge of ow' Tabernacle. Revel. 20.

M^r Damphord. This Death & Resurrection hear spoken of is not a naturall Death nor a naturall Resurrection but a spirituall one. but that Death in 1 Cor. 15 is spoken of a naturall & bodily Death & Resurrection. Mat. 22.

M^r Hutchison. There is another place in Rev. 20 whear he speakes of the first Resurrection

M^r Damphord. Thear is no first & second Resurrection of one & the same Body, for that implyes a second Resurrection. Now some understand that of the Resurrection of the Martirs. others of a spiritual Resurrection, as is ment in Rom. 6 a spiritual Resurrection both wch we enjoy in this Life, but that in 1 Cor 15. is ment of a Bodely Resurrection after this Life. therfor. are yow clear in that place —

M^r Hutchison. No, not yet.

*M^r Buckle.*¹ I desire to know of M^r Hutchison. whether yow hould any other Resurrection than that of . . . Union to Ch: Je: And whether yow hold y' foule, groce, filthye & abominable Opinion held by Familists, of the *Communitie*

X of Weomen.² Job 19. 25 Phil. 3 . . —

M^r

X ¹ The Rev. Peter Bulkley, of Concord. *Vide supra*, p. 86, n.

X ² In the orthodox theological shibboleth of the seventeenth century, the term "Familist" had much the same significance as "Free-lover" in the nineteenth century, and a little further on (*infra*, p. 314) Cotton will be found setting forth the popular ideas in language of vigorous denunciation. This sect has already been referred to in the notes of the present volume (*supra*, p. 185). Originating in Germany, the Familists obtained a footing in England during the reign of Edward VI., and subse-

quently, during that of Elizabeth, were accused of gross immoralities of creed and practice. James I. in his writings referred to them as the sect "quæ familia amoris vocatur." Those composing the sect denied the allegations of immorality, and in 1575 an authentic confession of Familist faith was put forth. In 1579 John Rogers fulminated against them in a tract entitled *The Displaying of a horrible Sect naming themselves the Family of Love*,—a publication not cited by Masson, nor can I find any trace of a copy in the American collections. More than seventy years later,

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Mr Hutchison. I would it not. But Ch: Answ: now. I know thou hast a Divell. that was the Conclusion they made agaynst Ch: *when he sayd they that beleve in me shall not dye:* I doe not beleve that Ch. Je: is united to our Bodies.

Brother Willson. God forbid.

Mr Damphord. Avoyd . . *Mr Buckles* quest. for it is a right principle, for if the Resurrection be past than Marriage is past: for it is a waytie Reason; after the Resurrection is past, marriage is past. than if there be any Union betwene man & woman, it is not by Marriage but in a Way of Communitie.

Mr Hutchison. if any such practice or conclusion be drawn from it. than I must leave it, *for I abhor that Practise.*

Governor. The Familists doe not desire to evade that quest. for they practise the Thing. & they bringe this very place to prove their Communitie of Weomen. & to justify their abominable Wickedness. it is a dayngerous Error.

Mr Leverit. But our sister doth not deny the Resurrection of the Body.

Mr Hutchison. No.

Mr Simcs. She denies the Resurrection of the same Body that dyes. therefore to prove that the same body that dyes shall rise agayne, I prove it Job. 19. 25. & . . .

Mr Hutchison. that it is all the quest. for *I doe not thinke the Body that dyes shall rise agayne*

Mr

Paget devoted to the Familists no considerable space in his *Heresiography*. Masson (*Life of Milton*, Vol. III. p. 152) says: "If there really was such an English sect, their main principle probably was that every society of Christians should be a kind of family party, jolly within itself in confidential love-feasts

and exchanges of sentiment, and letting the general world and its creeds roar around unquestioned and unheeded. Baillie, however, in an incidental notice of Familism in the Second Part of his *Dissuasive* (pp. 99-104), gives a somewhat different account."

Mr Damphord. You tell us of a new Body, & of 2 bodies, that is three: now wch of these Bodies do you hold shall rise againe.

Mr Eliot. We are altogether unsatisfied wth her answer, & we thinke it is very dangerous to dispute this Question soe longe in this Congregation. She that hath come of in her other Answer, to say it was not an Error, but a mistake of so groce & so dangerous an opinion as this is, we much fear her spirit

Mr Buckle. in Hebr. 6. 1. the holy Ghost thear makes the denyinge of the Resurrection to be the denyinge of a fundamentall Truth of Religion. Thearfor for any to hould thear is no Resurrection, I thinke it is as dayngerous an Heresie, & we are to hould them as dayngerous Heriticks as any are.

Mr Simcs. I desire to propound one place more, 1 Cor. 15. 13. if thear be no Resurrection, then our sayth is in vayne & preachinge is in vayne: & all is in vayne

Mr Hutchifon. I confels if thear be no Resurrection, than all is in vayne, both preaching & all. *I scruple not the Resurrection, but what Body shall rise*, it shall rise, that is, in Ch: we shall rise.

Governor. I desire to propound this to M^r Hutchifon: it is sayd whan Christ arose, many of those dead bodies of the Sts did arise out of thear Graves, & did accompany Ch: into the holy Cittie. Now I would know what Bodies those wear that rose, whether it be not the same Bodies that wear dead & layd in thear Graves.

M^r Hutchifon. I know not but thay may be the same Bodies.

M^r Governor. Than the poynt is at an End.

M^r

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Mr Hutchison. I am not clear in the poynt. I cannot yet see that Ch: is united to these fleshly Bodies, & if he be not united to our fleshly Bodies, than those Bodies cannot rise.

Mr Damphord. The fleshly *Bodies of the wicked are not united to Ch: yet they shall rise agayne.*

Mr Hutchison. They shall rise to Condemnation.

Mr Damphord. That is nothinge. and soe the Bodies of the Sts shall rise to Salvation.

Mr Peters. I would aske M^r Hutchison this Quest. whether yow thinke that the *very Bodys of Moses, Elish, & Enoch were taken up into the Heavens*, or no.

Mr Hutchison. I know not that I scruple the former. than much more this.

Mr Damphord. Thease are Opinions that cannot be borne. They shake the very foundation of our fayth & tends to the Overthrough of all Religion. They are not slight matters of greate Wayte & Consequence

Brother Willson. If the Church be satisfied with the Arguments that have been propounded that they are convinced in thear Judgments that thease are Errors, *let them expres it by thear usiall sign of houldinge up thear Hands*, & y' they looke at them as groce & damnable Heresies. And because it is very late & many Things yet to goe over, the Church thinkes it meete to refer farder Dealinge with our sister till the next Lecture day.

Mr Hutchison. I desire to know by what Rule I am to expres myselfe in my Assent or Dissent whan yet *my Mather* is not convinced. for I hope she will not shut her Eyes agaynst any Light.

Brother

Brother Willson. Brother, yow may as well make Quest. whether God will confesse yow before his Father wch is in Heaven, when yow deny to confesse his Truth befor Men tho agaynst yo' owne Mother.

M^r Damphord. Yow are not to be led by naturall affection, but to declare your opinion for the Truth & agaynst Error, though held by your owne Mother. The Quest. was not whether the Arguments were waytie enough to convince your Mother, but whether yow have Light enough to satisfie yo' Contience that thay are Errors. ✓

M^r Hutchison. Then I consent to them. as far as I know that thear is a Resurrection &c.

M^r Sheppard. If thear be any of this Congregation that doe hould the same opinions, I advise them to take heed of it, for the hand of the Lord will finde yow out. & for M^r Hutchison I would wish her to consider by what spirit & Light she is lead. for she hath often boasted of the Guidance of Gods Spirit & that her Revelations are as trew as the scriptures. but she hath allready confessed her Mistake in the 2 first poynts. by the Light she hath received from M^r Damphord. Now than her spirit hath led her into some Errors. therfor I hope she will see the rest to be Errors. & to suspect herselfe. & to know it is not Gods Spirit. but her owne Spirit that hath guided her hitherto, a spirit of Delusion & Error. & for my owne part I must needs say that I know not what Cowrse better to take: nor wherein I might show more love to her Soule. than in bringinge her to her owne Congregation, of wch she is a Member, to answ^r to thease dayngerous and fearfull Errors wch she hath drunke in, that thay under God wch have the care of her soule may deale

deale wth her for them, & wach mor narrowly over her for time to come, & seeke to reclayme her, for she is of a most dayngerous Spirit, & likely with her fluent Townge & forwardnes in Expressions to seduce & draw away many, Especially simple Weomen of her owne sex.

Brother Willson: *If the church be satisfied wth what hath bine spoken: & that thay conceive. we ought to proceed to Admonition, we will take thear Silence for Consent: if any be otherwise minded. thay may expres themselves.*

*Sargeon. Savidge.*¹ For my part: I am not yet satisfied. nayther doe I see any Rule why the church should proceed to *Admonition*: sceinge that in the most Churches thear hath bine some Errors or Mistakes held. yea. & in this very Church of Corinth there was many unfownd opinions, & in particular some amongst them that held this very opinion: about the Resurrection as appears by Pawlls arguments in 15 Chapt. yet we doe not read: that the Church did admonish them for it. Indeed in poynt of fact as in the Case of Incest, the church proceeded to Excommunication: because it was groce & abominable but not for opinion: now *my Mother* not beinge accused. for any haynows fact. but *only for opinion.* & that *wherin she desires Information & Light.* [rather] than peremptorelye to hould, *I cannot consent that the church should proceed yet to admonish her for this.*

Mr Cotten. Y^r. Mother. though she be not accused of any thinge in poynt of fact or practise. nayther for my owne part doe I know thear is any cause. yet she may hould Errors as dayngerous & of worse Consequence than matters of practise cane be, & therefor I see not but the church may proceed to Admonition. and whereas yow say *she seekes Light & Information*

¹ *Supra*, pp. 39, 223; *infra*, p. 394, note 1.

Information rather than should them peremptorily yow hear that thear hath bine much paynes taken & many Arguments brought. not only from ourselves. but from divers of the Elders of other Churches. wch gives satisfaction to the rest of the Assembly & wch she is no wayes able to answer. & yet she persists in her Opinion: besides *the Apostle did admonish for poynt of Opinion.* for *Himeneus. & Philetus.*¹ they held thinges of this Nature. the Apostle doth give thear an Admonition for it, therfor yow doe a very evell office out of yo^r naturall not religious Affection, to hinder the Church in her proceeding & to be a meanes to harden your Mothers Heart in theafe dayngerous Opinions. & so keepe her from Repentance. I pray consider of it. /

*Linuenant Gibbens.*² I desire Leave of the church. for one word; not that I would open my mouth in the least kinde to hinder the Churches proceedings. in any way of God. *for I looke at our syster as a lost Woman.* & I blesse God to see the paynes y^e is taken to reduce her: but I would humbly propose this to the churches Consideration, seeinge *Admonition is one of the greatest Censures* that the Church can pronounce agaynst any offender. & one of the last next to Excommunication, (& to be used agaynst Impenitent Offenders,) but seinge God hath turned her hart aboutt allready to see her Error, *or Mistake. as she calls it.* in some of the poynts. whether the Church had not better wayte a little longer. to see if God will not help her to see the rest & to acknowledge

¹ "16 But shun profane and vain babblings: for they will increase unto more ungodliness.

"17 And their word will eat as doth a canker: of whom is Hymeneus and Philetus;

"18 Who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection is past already; and overthrow the faith of some."—II. Timothy ii.

² *Infra*, p. 393, n.

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acknowledge them. than the Church may have no occasion to come to this Censure.

M^r Simes. I am much greved to hear that soe many in this Congregation should stand up & declare themselves unwilling that M^r Hutchison should be proceeded agaynst for such dayngerous Errors. I fear, that if by any meanes this should be carried over into England, that in New England & in such a Congregation. there was soe much spoken. & soe many Questions made. about *soe playne an Article* of our fayth *as the Resurrection is.* it will be one of the greatest Dishonors to Je: Ch: & of Reproach to these Churches that hath bine done since we came heather.

M^r Damphord. I thinke it is meete. that if any of the Brethren have any Scruples upon their Spirits. about this or any other Poynt y^t shall be discussed, that they should have free Leave to propound it. that it may be taken of. & their Dowbts removed. & if these Bretheren that withstood the Church in proceedinge to Admonition did but consider. *that Admonition is an Ordinance of God.* & sanctified of him for this very End. as a spetiall & powerfull meanes to convince the partie offendinge as well as Arguments. & reasons given; than they would not oppose it. the want of that Consideration is the Cause of their present scruple herin.

Elder Oliver. I desire to be satisfied in one Thing, & I am glad that I have soe good an Opertunitie to propownd my Dowbt. at such a Time. when God hath furnished us with such store of Elders & Men of able parts from other Churches, that may resolve the same: And that is. How the church cane. or *whether it may procede: to any Censure.*
when

> *whan all the Members doe not consent thearto: or whether the Church hath not power to lay a Censure upon them. that doe hinder the Churches proceedings.*

M^r Cotten: I thinke Bretheren are to be satisfied: the church ought as much as in them lies to remove all Scruples, that if it may be, the whole Church may proceede wth one Consent. in the Act to be done; but if the Church doe take paynes, & doe bringe Arguments, such as satisfies the whole Congregation. to be sufficient to remooove such Scruples. if yet some Bretheren will perlist in thear Dissent: upon no Ground: but for by Respects of thear owne. or owt of naturall affection . . . than the Church is not to stay her proceedinge, for that.

M^r Damphord: I doe not see but y^t the Church is satisfied. I perceive none doth oppose the Church: some only 2 or 3 wch are tied to her by Naturall Relation; for these others that have spoken, thay did propound it but as Scruples, & thay have reaceved satisfaction, & therfor I see nothinge that may hinder.

Sargion Oliver: I desire to propound this one Thing to the Church. befor yow profeed to admonition/ I doe blesse God to see soe much Care & faythfullnes shewed to the fowle of this our Sister: & it doth rejoyce my Sowle. to see soe much paynes taken. & so many effectuall arguments brought to reduce her from her Errors & goinge astray. & it is of no lesse greife to my Spirit to see thease two Bretheren to speake soe much. & to scruple the proceedings of the Church in that way of God that is in hand. therefore I would propownd this. seeinge that all the proceedings of the churches of Je: Ch: now should be accordinge to the

Patterne

Patterne of the primitive Churches: And the primitive patterne was. that all Things in the Church: should be done with one hart & one sowe & one Consent; that any act. & every Act. done by the Church. may be as the Act of one Man. Therefor whether it be not meete. to lay these two Brethren under an Admonition with their Mother; that soe the church may proceed on without any further Opposition

Brother Willson. I thinke yow speake very well: it is very meete.

The whole Church by their Silence. Consented to the Motion: & soe they proceeded to Admonition/ The rest of our Elders requested M^r Cotten to give the Admonition, as one whose Wordes, by the Blessinge of God, may be of more Respect, & sinke deeper, & soe was likely to doe more good upon the partie offendinge. than any of theas, & it was alsoe left to him, to doe as God should incline his hart, whether to lay any admonition upon her 2. Sonnes or no with her selfe

M^r Cotten. I doe in the first place blesse the Lord: and thanke in my owne Name, & in the Name of our Church, theas our Brethren, the Elders of other Churches, for their Care & faythfullnes in waching over our Churches, & for bringinge to Light what our selves have not bine soe ready to see in any of our Members, & to take soe much paynes, to seeke to reduce any of ours from goinge astray: & I shall desier that this faythfull & wachfull Care of theirs towards [us] may still be continued: & I dowbt not but the Lord Je: Ch: who is head of the whole Church will reward it into their Bosoms/. I confes I have not bine ready to beleewe Reports, & have bine slowe of proceedinge agaynst any of
 our

our Members, for want of sufficient Testimony to prove that wch hath bine layd to thear Charge./ But now they have proceded in a way of God, & doe bringe such Testimonie: as doth Evince the Truth of what is affirmed, it would be our sine if we should not joyne in the same, wch we are willinge to doe. And therfor in the first place, I shall direct my speech & admonition to you that are her sonnes, & sonne in Law; & let me tell yow from the Lord; though naturall affection may leade yow to speake in the Defence of yo' mother, & to take her part & to secke to keepe up her Credit & respect, wch may be lawfull & comendable in some Cases & at some times, yet in the Cause of God yow are nayther to know Father nor mother, sister nor Brother, but to say of them all as Levie did what have we to doe wth them, & though the Credit of yo' mother be dear to yow, & yo' Regard to her Name, yet the Regard yow should have of Ch: Name & yo' Care of his Honour & Credit should outway all the other, yea & as you have herd, yow must cast downe her name & Credit, tho it be the chiefeft Crowne that ayther yourselves or yo' mother hath, at the Feete of Je: Ch: & let that be trampled upon, for his Crowne may be exalted. And I doe *admonish you both* in the name of Ch: Je: & of his Church: to consider-how ill an office yow have performed to your Mother this day to be Instruments of hardning her Hart & Nowrishinge her in her unsound Opinions by yo' pleadinge for her, & hindringe the proceedings of the Church agaynst her wch God hath directed us to take./ to heale her soule, & wch God might have blessed & made mor effectuall to her, had not you intercepted the Cowrse./ & how insteed of lovinge & naturall Children, *yow have*

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have proved Vipers, to Eat through the very Bowells of yo' Mother, to her Ruine, if God doe not gratiouſly prevent, therefor I adviſe you both, & admoniſh yow in the Lord. that yow deſiſt from ſuch praſtiſe, & take heed, how yow by yo' flattery or mourninge over her: aplaudinge of her in her Opinion, or takinge part with her when yow come home, do hinder the Work of Repentance in her. & keepe her from ſeeinge theaſe Evells in her ſelfe: but looke up to Ch: Je: & adreſe yo'ſelves to her wth all faythfull & gratiouſ Cownſells to her, that yow may doe what yow cane to bring her to a ſight of her wronge way, & to reduce her from it. than ſhall yow performe the parts of faythfull Children indeed. The Lord will bleſſe yow. If yow doe otherwiſe, Looke that the Lord will bringe yow to an Account for it.

Next let me ſay ſomewhat to the Siſters of our owne Congregation, many of whom I fear have bine too much ſeduc'd & led aſide by her; therefore *I admoniſh yow* in the Lord to looke to your ſelves, & to take heed that yow receive nothinge for Truth wch hath not the ſtamp of the Word of God from it. I doubt not but ſome of you have allſoe received much good from the Conference of this our Siſter & by your Converſe wth her: & from her it may be yow have received helpeſ in yo' ſpirituall Eſtates, & have bine brought from Reſtinge upon any Duties or Workes of Righteowſnes of yo' owne, but *let me ſay this to yow all, & to all the Siſters of other Congregations, Let not the good yow have received from her, make yow to receive all for good that comes from her; for you ſee ſhe is but a Woman & many unſound & dayngerous Principles are held by her,* therfor whatſoever good you have received owne it & keepe it carefully,

carefully, but if you have drunke in wth this good any Evell or Poyson, make speed to vomit it up agayne & to repent of it & take [care] that yow doe not harden her in her Way by pittyinge of her. or confirminge her in her opinions, but pray to God for her, & deale faythfully with her soule in baringe Witnesse agaynst any unsound Thing that at any Time she hath held forth to yow.

And now, Sister, let me adrese myselfe to yow./ the Lord put fitt Words into my Mouth. & carry them home to your Soule. for good. It is trew whan yow came first over, into this Cuntrye, we herd some thinge of some opinions that yow held: & vented upon the Seas, in the Ship whan yow came,¹ wch whan you came to be propounded for a Member, we had some Conference wth you about them hear, / in wch you ded give us such satisfaction, that after some little stay to yo' Admition yow wear receved in amongst us. & since that admision I would speake it to Gods Glory yow have bine an Instrument of doing some good amongst us, yow have bine helpfull to many, to bringe them of from thear unsound Grounds and Principles, & from buildinge thear good Estate upon thear owene duties and performances, or upon any Righteousnes of the Law. And the Lord hath indued yew wth good parts & gifts fitt to instruct your children & Servants, & to be helpfull to your husband in the Government of the famely. he hath given yow a sharpe apprehension, a ready utterance & abilitie to exprese yo'felfe in the Cawse of God. I would deal wth yow as Ch: Je. deales wth his Churches whan he goes to admonish them, to take a Vew, & to call to yo' mind the good Thinges that he hath bestowed upon yow. Yet Notwithstandinge, we have a few
Thinges

¹ *Supra*, p. 138.

Things agaynst you, & in some fence not a few. but such as are of great Wayte & of a heavy Nature & dayngerous Consequences. Therefore let me warne yow & admonish yow in the Name of Je: Ch: to consider of it seriously, how the Dishonour you have brought unto God, by these unfownd Tenets of yo^r, is far greater than all the honor yow have brought to him, & the Evell of yo^r Opinions doth outway all the good of yo^r Doinges. Consider how many poore sowles yow have mislead, & how yow have convayed the poyson of yo^r unfound principles into the harts of many wch it may be will never be reduced agayne. Consider in the fear of God, that by this one Error of yours in denyinge the Refurrection of these very Bodies, yow doe the uttermost to raise the very foundation of Religion to the Ground, & to destroy our fayth, yea all owr preachinge & yo^r hearinge & all owr sufferinges for the fayth to be in vayne, if thear be no Refurrection than all is in vayne, & we of all people are most miserable yea consider *if the Refurrection be past, than yow cannot Evade the Argument* that was prest upon you by *our Brother Buckle* & others, that filthie Sinne of the *Comunitie of Weomen*; & all promiscuus & filthie cominge together of men & Weomen. without Distinction or Relation of Marriage, will necessarily follow, & though I have not herd, nayther do I thinke, yow have sine unfaithfull to yo^r Husband in his Marriage Covenant, yet that will follow upon it for it is the very argument that the Saduces. bringe to our Savior Ch: agaynst the Refurrection: and that wch the Annabaptists & Familists bringe, to prove the Lawfullnes of the common use of all Weomen, & soe more dayngerous Evells & filthie Uncleines & other fines will followe than yowe do now Imagine or conceave.

M^r Hutchison; I desier to speake one word, befor yow proceed: I would forbar but by Reason of my Weaknes. I fear I shall not remember it whan yow have done.

M^r Cotten: Yow have Leave to speake.

M^r Hutchison. All that I would say is this that *I did not hould any of thease Things before my Imprisonment.*

M^r Cotten: I confesse I did not know that yow held any of thease Things, nor heare till hear of late: but it may be it was my sleepines & want of wachfull care over yow / but yow see the daynger of it & how God hath left yow to yo' selfe to fall into thease dayngerows Evells, for I must needs say that *I have often feared the highth of yo' Spirit & being pust up wth yo' owne parts*, & therefore it is just wth God thus to abase yow & to leave yow to thease desperat falls, for the Lord looketh upon all the children of pride, & delights to abase them & bringe them lowe. / And soe, the other Things that yow hould of the *Mortalitie of the Soule by Nature*, & that *Ch: is not united to our Bodies*: and that the *Resurrection* spoken of at his appearinge is
> ment of his *appearinge to us in Union*, thease are of dayn-
gerows Consequence, & set an open Doore to all Epicurisme
& Libertinisme; if this be soe than come let us eate & drinke,
for to morrow we shall dye, than let us nayther fear Hell
nor the losse of Heaven; than let us beleve there is nayther
Ayngelles nor Spirits. What need we care what we speake,
or doe, hear, if our Sowles perish & dye like beasts. *Nay
though yow should not hould thease Things positively*, yet if
yow doe but make a Question of them, & propownd them as
a doubt for satisfaction, yet others that hear of it will con-
clude them positively, & thay will thinke: fuer thear is
some

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some thinge in it, if M^r Hutchison makes a Question of it, if those that have great parts of Wisdome & Understandinge, & if such eminent christians make a Question of them, thear is somethinge that needs further Serch & Inquirie abowt them, & foe. yo^r Opinions frett like a Gangrene, & spread like a Leprosie, & infect farr and near, & will eate out the very Bowells of Religion./ & hath foe infected the Churches. that God knowes whan thay will be cured. *Therfor that I may draw to an End; I doe Admonish yow, & alsoe charge yow in the Name of Ch: Je: in whose place I stand, & in the Name of the Church who hath put me upon this service; that yow would sadly consider the just hand of God agaynst yow, the great hurt yow have done to the Churches, the great Dishonour yow have brought to Je: Ch: & the Evell that yow have done to many a poore sowle, & seeke unto him to give yow Repentance* for it, & a hart to give satisfaction to the Churches yow have offended hereby/, & bewayle yo^r Weaknes in the Sight of the Lord, that yow may be pardoned, & consider the great Dishonor & Reproch, that hereby yow have brought upon this Church of owrs wherof yow are a Member/how you have layd us all under a Suspition, yea, & a Censure of houldinge & mayntayne Errors./ therefor thinke of it & be jelious of yo^r owne Spirit in the rest & take heed how yow Leaven the hartes of younge Weomen wth. such unfownd & dayngerows principles, but Labor rather to recover them out of the Snaers, as opertunetie shall serve, wch yow have drawn them to, & foe the Lord carry home to yo^r Sowle what I have spoken to yow in his Name.

M^r Shephard. Left the Crowne should be set on her Hed in the day of her Humiliation I desire Leave to speake one
Word

Word, befor the Assemblie break up. It is no little Affliction nor Greife to my Spirit to hear what M^r Hutchison did last speake, it was a Trowble to me to see her interrupt yow, by speaking in the midst of her Censure; unto wch she ought to have attended, wth fear & Tremblinge; but it was an Astonishment to me to hear, that she shuld thus Impudently affirme soe horrible an Untruth & falshood, in the midst of such a follomne Ordinance of Je: Ch: & befor such an Assembly as this is; yea in the face of the Church *to say, she held none of these Opinions, befor her Imprisonment*, whan she knowes that she used this Speech to me, whan I was wth her & delt wth her abowt these opinions, & she had fluently & forwardly expressed herselfe to me, yet she aded If I had but come to her befor her Restraynt, she would have opned herselfe mor fully to me & have declared many other Things abowt them, yea of these very Opinions: therfor I am sorry y' M^r Hutchison, should soe far forget herselfe; it shoves but little frute of all the paynces taken wth her. This makes me mor to fear the unfowndnes of her hart than all the rest.

M^r Eliot. It was the same Trowble & Greife alsoe to my selfe.

Brother Willson/. Sister Huchison, I requier yow in the Name of the Church to present yo'selfe hear agayne, the next Lecture day, Viz this day Sevensnight, to give yo' *Answer. to. such other Things as this Church or the Elders of other Churches have to charge yow wthall*, Concerninge yo' Opinions, whether yow hould them or no, or will revoke them.

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M^r Hutchisons. *second Examination* in Boston Church. one Thirsday Lectuer day after Sermon: March: 22th 1638, *befr all the Elders of other Churches, & the Face of the Cuntry.*

Elder Leveret. Sister Hutchison, yow are farther to make Answ^r to other Thinges, layd to yo^r Charge: But first I would have the Members of owr owne Church draw near to expresse thear Consent or Dissent to the Things in hand. wch doth most concerne them. M^r Hutchison, the Things further layd to yo^r Charge are these:

1. Those that have Union wth Ch: shall not rise in these Bodies.
2. The Resurect in 1 Cor. 15. is not spoken of o^r Resurection at the last day but of o^r Union to Ch: Je:
3. That thear is no created Graces in Belevers after Union: befor Union ther is, but after Union Ch: takes them owt of us into himselve.
- >4. That in Ch: thear is no created Graces.
6. That thear is an Ingraftinge into Ch: befor owr Union wth him, from wch we may fall away.

Hear is further agayst yow.

1. That yo^r particular Revelations about futire Events wear as infaliable as the scriptures them selves. That yow wear bound to beleeve them as well as the Scriptures: because the Ho: Gho: was the Author of both.
2. That Sanctification could be no Evidence of a good Estate at all.

3. That Union to Ch: Je: is not by Fayth.
4. That an Hipocrite may have Adams Righteousnes & perish.
5. That we have no Grace in our Selves. but all is in Ch: & there is no inherent Righteousnes in us.

To the 3 first from N. Towne. yew gave no satisfaction. Therefore an Admonition past agaynst yow. therefore yow are now to give further satisfaction about them.

M^r. Huchison. for the first, I doe acknowledge I was deeply deceived, the opinion was very dayngerous. 1 C[or.] 6. 19. 18

2. Though *I never doubted that the Soule was Immortall* yet . . . Things *I renounce, as that the Soule was purchased to eternall payne.*
3. I acknowledge my Mistake of Belevers havinge two Bodies. for now I see that the Apostle in 1 Cor: 6. 14. 15. speakes of persons, in one place, & of bodies, in another.
4. I acknowledge & I doe thanke God that I better see that Ch: is united to our Fleshlye Bodies, as 1 Cor. 6. 18. 19. *I doe acknowledge that the same Body. that lies in the Grave. shall rise agayne. & renounce the former. as eronious.* Es. 11. 2.
5. For no Graces beinge in Belevers I desier that to be understood that they are *not in us. but as they flow from Ch:* & I doe not acknowledge any Graces in us, accompanying Salvation before Union.
6. I acknowledge that there is Graces created in Ch: Je: as Esa. 11. 2, 2 P. 4. 24, Col. 3. 10.
8. I doe see good Warrant that Ch: Manton is in heaven as well as his Body.

9. I have considered some Scriptures that satisfie me that the Image of Adam is Righteousnes & Holinesa.
10. I hould that to be a dayngerous Error wch than I held.
11. *I confes now the Law is a Rule of Life* & I acknowl-
edge the other to be a hateful Error, & that wch
openeth a Gap to all Lisentiownes, & I beleve the
Law is a Rule of owr Life, & if we doe any Thing
contrary to it it is a grewows Sine.

Thus she answered to the first sixteen Objections.

Have you any Answer to the rest?

Answ' to M^r Wells Articles,

1. That Sanctification cant be an Evidence but as it
flowes from Ch: & is witnesed to us by the Spirit.
2. *For these Scriptures that I used at the Court in Cen-
suringe the Cuntrie, I confes I did it rashly & owt
of heate of Spirit & unadvisedly, & have cause to be
sorry for my unreverent Cariage to them & I am
hartely sorry that any Things I have sayde have drawn
any from hearinge any of the Elders of the Bay.*
3. I acknowledge y^e comānd of fayth is a part of the Doc-
trine of the Gospell.
4. That thear *is no fayth of Gods Ele^t but Assurance*, &
that thear is no Fayth of Dependance, but such as
Hipocrits may have.

M^r Huchison. I never held any such Thing.

Elder Leverett. It seems yow did hould it, tho' after yow
revoked it.

5. I doe not beleeve that a Hipocrite cane attayne to
Adam's Righteousnes.

6. We are dull to act in spirituall Things savingly, but as we are acted by Ch :

For the 9th *I deny it, that not beinge bound to the Law it is no Transgression to breake it | I never held it | for I acknowledge any Breach of the Law is a sine, & the former is a hatefull Error.*

Brother Willson. Thear is one Thing y' will be necessary for you Sister to answer to wch was objected to yow. the last meetinge, but it beinge soe late. we could not take yo' Answ^r, & that was, that yow denied yow held none of those Things but since yo' Durance / wheras he aledged to yow that yow expressed befor the contrary.

M^r Huchison. As my sine hath bine open, soe I thinke it needfull to acknowledge how I came first to fall into thease Errors. Instead of Lookinge upon myselfe I looked at Men, I know my Diffemblinge will doe no good. I spake rashly & unadvisedly. *I doe not allow the slightinge of Ministers. nor of the Scriptures* nor any Thing that is set up by God: if M^r Shephard doth conceave that I had any of these Things in my Minde, than he is deceived. It was never in my hart to slight any man, but only that man should be kept in his owne place & not fet in the Roome of God.

Elder Leverit. That the Affemblie may know what yow have delivered, as our Honor^d Governor hath mooved, it is meet some body should expres what yow say to the Congregation wch heard not.

M^r Cotten The Sume of what she sayed is this, that she did not fall into thease groce & fundamentall Errors till she came to Roxbery. & the Grownd was this, her Miscariages & disrespeect that she showed to the Magistrates whan she

was

was befor them. who are set up by . . . & those that doe so lead themselves into Errors, & she doth utterly disallow her selfe & condemne herselfe; for that Cariage: & she confesseth the Roote of all was the hight & Pride of her Spirit, so for her slighting the Ministers she is hartely sorry for it: for her particular Relation in her Speech to the Disgrace. of him, She is sorry for it & desires all that she hath offended to pray to God for her to give her a hart to be more truly humbled.

M^r Shephard. If this day whan M^r Hutchison should take Shame & Confusion to herselfe for her groce & damnable Errors, she shall cast Shame upon others & say they are mistaken, & to turne of many of those groce Errors with so slight an Answer as *your Mistake*, I fear it doth not stand wth true Repentance / I confesse I am wholly unsatisfied in her Expressions, to some of the Errors. Any Heretick may bringe a slye Interpretation, upon any of these Errors & yet hold them to thear Death: therfor I am unsatisfied, should be glad to see any Repentance in her: that might give me Satisfaction.

M^r Elliot. M^r Hutchison did affirme to me, as she did to M^r Shephard, that if we had come to her before her restrayn or Imprisonment she could & would have tould me many Things of Union &c / but now we had shut & debarred ourselves from that Helpe, by imprefinge & proceeding agaynst her, & she did produce some Scriptures to me.

M^r Shephard. She puts of many Things wth her Mistake as in union wth Ch: Ch: takes all these Graces he finds in us into ourselves, & transacts us him selfe.

M^r Cotten. Sister, was thear not a Time, whan once you
di

did hould that thear was *no distinct graces inherent in us, but all was in Ch: Je:*

M^r Hutchifon. I did mistake the word Inherent, as M^r Damphord can tell who did cause me first to see my Mistake in the word inherent.

M^r Elliot. We are not satisfied wth what she sayth, that she should say now, *that she did never deny Inherence of Grace in us, as in a subject*, for she beinge by us pressed soe wth it, she denied that thear was *no Graces inherent in Ch: himselfe*.

M^r Shephard. She did not only deny the word inherent, but denyed the very Thinge itselſe; than I asked her, if she did beleve that the spirit of God was in Beleevers.

M^r Hutchifon. I *confes my Expressions was that way, but it was never my Judgment.*

M^r Damphord. It requiers yow to answer playnly in theſe Thinges.

M^r Elliot. She did playnly expres herselfe to me that thear was no difference betweene the Graces that are in Hypocrits & those that are in the Sts.

M^r Cotten Thear is 2 thinges to be clerd, 1. what yow doe now hould, 2ly. what yow did hould.

M^r Hutchifon. My Judgment is not altered though my Expression alters.

Brother Willſon. This yow say is most dayngerous, for if yo' Judgment all this while be not altered, but only yo' Expressions, whan yowr Expressions are soe contrary to the Truth.

M^r Simes. I should be glad to see any Humiliation in M^r Hutchifon / I am afrayd that she looks but to Spriges¹,
for

¹ Not improbably the original was here copied wrong; but possibly "spriges" is used for the old English "sprigges," -- small sprouts or outshoots;

or, yet more possibly, for "springes" in the sense in which the word is used by Shakespeare, -- "Springes to catch woodcocks!"

for I fear these are no new Things, but she hath ayntiently held them, and had need to be humbled for her former Doctrines, & for her abuse of divers Scriptures, & if she held no new Thing, yet she ought to be humbled for what she hath held formerly as, *All christians beinge dead to all spirituall Aetings after they are united to Ch: & soe that of Graces.* She hath brought that place in Esa: that all flesh is grasse & poor witheringe Things, & soe other Things to the like purpose.

M^r Peters: We did thinke she would have humbled herselfe for denyinge Graces this day, for her opinions are dayngerous & fundamentall & such as takes downe the Articles of Religion, as *denying the Resurrection, & fayth, & all Sanctification,* soe that some Elders have made whole Sermons, for fayth, as if fayth should never hold up her Hed agayne in this Cuntry; as it hath done in our Native Cuntry.

Deputie.¹ M^r Hutchifons Repentance is only for Opinions held since her Imprisonment, but befor her Imprisonment she was in a good Condition, & held no Error, but did a great deale of Good, to many. Now I know no Harme that M^r Hutchison hath done since her Confinement, therfor I think her Repentance will be worse than her Errors, for if by this meanes she shall get a partie to herselfe, & what can any Heretick in the World desier more / & for her forme of Recantation, her *Repentance is in a paper,* whether it was drawn up by herselfe, or whether she had any helpe in it I know not, & will not now Inquier to, but suer *her Repentance is not in her Cowntenance,* none can see it thear I thinke; therfor

¹ Deputy-Governor Thomas Dudley.

therfor I speake this only to put the Elders in minde to speake to this whether she did not hould errors before her Imprifsonment.

Mr Wells. I must needs say that before this she hath sayd to me, when I spake of Graces, that she would not pray for fayth, nor for patience & the like, which when I asked her if she would stand to that, & tooke out my pen & Inke to have writ it downe, than she turns it this way, *I will not pray for Patience but for the God of Patience.*

Governor / I must put *Mr Hutchison* in minde of a paper that she sent me, wherein she did very much slight fayth.

Mr Hutchison. Those papers wear not myne.

Mr Peters. I would say this, when I was once speakinge wth her about the *Woman of Elis*:¹ she did. exceedingly magnifie her to be a Womane of 1000, hardly any like to her. & yet we know. that the *Woman of Elis*: is a dayngerous Woman, & houlds forth grewous Things, & ferfull Errors, & when I told her that hear was divers worthy & godly Weomen Even amongst us, & than. she sayd, she ment she was better than soe many Jewes/. Soe that I beleeve. that she hath vilde Thoughts of us, & thinkes us to be nothinge but a company of Jewes, & that now God is convirtinge of Jewes.

Mr Hutchison. I sayd of the Woman of Elis but what I herd, for I knew her not nor never sawe her.

Brother

¹ No plausible explanation of this allusion has been suggested. The "Woman of Elis" is apparently referred to as a person then living, and not as an historical or Biblical character; neither is it clear whether "Elis" is a full

name or an abbreviation. Further and more careful search might throw light on the subject; but it is at least questionable whether the result would in value be commensurate with the time spent in reaching it.

Brother Willson. I must needs say this & if I did not say soe much I could not satisfie my owne Contience herin, for wheras yow say that the Cawse or Root of thecase yo' Errors, was yo' slightinge & Disrespect of the Magistrates & yo' un-reverent Carriage to them, / wch though I thinke that was a greate Sine, & it may be one Cawse why God should thus leave you, but that is not all, for I fear & beleve ther was another, & a greater Cawse, & that is the *slighting of Gods*
saythfull Ministers & contemninge & cryinge downe them
as Nobodies, & wheras yow say that one Cawse was the settinge up of men in the Roome of God, & a to high & honorable Esteme of them, I doe not deny but it may be yow might have an honorable Esteme of some one or 2. Men, as owr Teacher & the like, yet I thinke it was, to set up *yo' selfe in the Roome of God:* above others, *that yow might be extolled & admired, & followed after, that yow might be a greate Prophites . .* & Undertake to expound Scriptures, / & to interpret other Mens Sayings, & sermons after yo' minde / & therefor I beleve yo' Iniquite hath found yow out, & wheras befor if any delt wth yow about any Thinge yow called for Witnesses & for yo' Accusers, & who can lay it to yo' Charge,¹ now God hath left you to yo' selfe, & yow have hear confessed that wch befor yow have called for Witnesses to prove, therfor it greves me, that yow should soe mince *yo' dayngerous, fowle & damnable Herisies,* wherby yow have soe wickedly departed from God & done soe much hurt.

M^r Shephard. I thinke it is needles for any other. now to speake. & useles, for the Case is playne, & hear is Witnesses enough.

¹ *Supra*, pp. 170. 256.

M^r Elliot. Some will acknowledge the Word Gifts & Frutes, but thay deny the word Graces: thay acknowledge actings of the Spirit: & by such Distinctions, I could wipe of all her Repentance in that paper, therefore she shall doe well to exprefs her selfe playnly, what her Judgment now is, in these Things.

M^r Hutchison. Our Teacher knowes my Judgment, for I never kept my Judgment from him.

Deputie/ I doe remember, that whan she was examined, about the six Questions or Articles, about Revelations &c, that she held nothing but what M^r Cotten held.

M^r Wells. I cane affirme the same to, for whan I spake with her she tould me that M^r Cotten & she was both of one minde, & she held no more than M^r Cotten did in these Things, & whan I told her that then she was lately chaynged in her Opinion, & I urged her with some Things, that M^r Cotten had left some Things in Writing expressly agaynst some of the opinions she held; *she affirmed still that there was no difference betwene M^r Cotten & She.*

Sargcon Oliver. I know the Time whan M^r Hutchison did plead for Creature Graces, & did acknowledge them, & stood for them, / but since she hath used these Expressions in way of Dislike I have pleaded as much for Graces as others, now if yow doe not deny, *created Graces in us*, than cleer that Expression.

M^r Hutchison. I confes I have denyed the Word Graces, but not the Thing itselfe, & whan I sayd I had pleaded for them as much as others, *I ment only in seekinge Comfort from them.*

M^r Simes. In the Ship,¹ she may remember that she was
often

¹ *Supra*, p. 158, note 3.

often offended at the Expression of growinge in Grace and laying up a Stock of Grace, & that all Grace is in Ch: Je:

Brother Willson. I know she hath sayd it & affirmed it dogmatically, that the Graces of God is not in us, & we have no Graces. in us, but only the Righteousnes of Ch: Imputed to us, and if thear be any Actinge in us it is Ch: only that acts. 53. Esa. Gal. 2.

*Mr Mather.*¹ M^r Hutchison may remember that in her Speakinge wth me that she denyed all Graces to be in us, that thear was nayther faith, nor knowledge, nor Gifts & Graces, no nor Life itselſe, but all is in Ch: Je: / & she brought some Scriptures, to prove her Opinions, as *that befor Union, thear was Graces & Fayth in us, but not after Union,* and she Coted Romans 11, *Thow standest by Fayth be not high minded but fear, lest thow also be cut of,* whar sayth she, befor Union thear is Fayth, thow standest by fayth, but if yow be high minded, yow shall be cut of, & for knowledge it is not in us. but in Ch: & soe than yow brought Esa. 53, by his Knowledge shall my Righteous Servant Justifie many, thear, sayth she, *we are Justified by his Knowledge,* y^e is in him, & not by ovr Knowledge, & for [so] sayth that in Galat. 2. Yow brought I live but not I but Je: Ch: lives in me: therfor I wonder that M^r Huchison doth so far forget herselfe, as to deny that she did not formerly hould this Opinion of denying Gifts & Graces to be in us.

Mr Peters. I would desier M^r Huchison in the name of the Lord that she would serch into her hart farther to helpe on her Repentance/, for though she hath confessed some Things yet it is far short of what it should be, & therefore

I.

¹ The Rev. Richard Mather, of Dorchester.

1. I fear yow are not well principled & grownded in yo' Catechisme.
2. I would commend this to yo' Consideration that yow have stept owt of yo' place, yow have rather bine a Husband than a Wife, & a preacher than a Hearer; & a Magistrate than a Subject, & foe yow have thought to carry all Things in Church & Commonwealth. as yow would, & have not bine humbled for this.

Governor; Seinge divers Sisters of the Congregation have builded upon her Experience, therfor I thinke it w^d be very Expedient, & much to Gods Glory if she would declare har what here Estate is, or wherin her good Estate is, if not by Ingraftinge into Ch: Je: for the Estate she held owt before the Elders / was not by Ingrafting into Ch: for a *Man may be Ingrafted into Ch: Je: & yet fall away.*

M^r Wells. I desire that Motion may go on.

M^r Shephard. Yow have not only to deale wth a Woman this day that houlds diverse erroneus Opinions, but wth one, that never had any trew Grace in her hart & that by her owne Tencet / yea this day she hath shewed herselfe to be a Notorius Imposter, it is a Tricke of as notorious Subtiltie as ever was held in the Church, to say thear is no Grace in the Saints, & now to say she hath, & that she all this while hath not altered her Judgment, but only her Expressions.

2. I would have yow quest. whether she was ever in a state of Grace or no, [seeing] her horrible Untruths, that she hath affirmed in the Congregation & proved by many Witnesses, & yet she hath not confessed it before the Lord.

3. *I would have the Congregation judge whether ever there was any Grace in her hart or no; or whither the Spirit of Glory rests upon her in the Cause she suffers. Soe her Cause w^t good, for wch she suffers, & doth not suffer as an evell doer, than the spirit of Glory & Ch: shall rest upon them that suffer. as Peter speaks; now if in her Restraynt God hath soe left her, soe fur to her selfe as she hath now confessed, that she never held any of these Opinions till her Imprissonment, wch is the Time of her Humiliation & persecution she thinkes, therfor by Peter her sufferings is not for good, because such an evell spirit hath rested upon her in this Time of her Humiliation.*
4. Upon this Ground, I thinke yow are to deale wth her, not only for her Opinions, as wth one who is to be questioned whether ever she was in a good Estate, because the Grownd of her Opinions hath bine built upon fayned & fantasticall Revelations, as she held forth 2. in the Court,¹ one for the certayne Destruction of Ould England & another for the Ruine of this Cuntrie & the people therof for thear proceedinge agaynst her: therfor I pray consider of it, & the rather I note this that all those Weomen & others that have bine led by her & doted soe much upon her & her Opinions.

M^r Peters. We are not satisfied in her Repentance, in that she hath expressed, wherin she layes her Censur or Imprissonment to be the Cause of all her Errors, as if she wear Innocent befor.

Brother

¹ *Supra*, pp. 176. 270

Brother Willson. I cannot but reverence & adore the wise hand of God in this thinge, & canot but acknowledge that the Lord is just in leavinge *our Sister to pride & Lyinge*, & owt of hith Spirit to fal into Errors & divers unsound Judgments, & I looke at *her as a dayngerus Instrument of the Divell* rayfed up by Sathan amongst us to rayse up Divisions & Contentions & to take away harts & affections one from another, / wheras befor thear was much Love & Union & sweet agreement amongst us before she came, yet since all Union & Love hath bine broken & thear hath bine Censurings & Judgings & Condemnings one of another / & I doe conceive all these wofull Opinions doe come from this Botome, for if the Botome hath bine unsound & corrupt, than must the Building be such, & the Misgovernment of this Woman's Townge hath bine a great Cawse of this Disorder, wch hath not bine to set up the Ministry of the Word ayther hear or elce whear, but to set up her selfe, & to draw deciples after her, & therfor she sayth one Thinge to day & another thinge to morrow: & to speake falsely & doubtfully & dullye, wheras we should speake the Truth playnly one to another. I doe therfor this conceive in the poynt of Religion & in the poynt of Doctrine, thay take away the botome, woe be to that fowle that shall build upon such botoms. Owr sowles should abhor & loth to come soe far short in Repentance, therfor I thinke as she was lyable to an Admonition befor, soe thear should be a . . . of our Church, & a proceedinge therin, to Ease our selves of such a member, Espetially for her untruth, or Lyes, as that she was allways of the same Judgment, only she hath altered her Expressions. / Therfor I leave it to the Church to consider how safe

it is to suffer for error & for schismaticall & for unsound a member amongst us, & one that stands guiltie of for fowle a falsehood / therfor consider whether we shall be faythfull to Je: Ch: or whether it can stand wth his hono' to suffer such an one any longer amongst us; if the blind lead the blind, whether shall we goe. Consider how we can or whether we may longer suffer her, to goe on still in seducinge to seduce, & in deceivinge to deceive, & in lyinge to lye, & in condemninge Authoritie & Magistracie, still to contemne. Therfor we should sine agaynst God if we should not put away from us for Evell a Woman, guiltie of such fowle Evells. Therfor if the church be of an other minde Let them expresse themselves, if she may not be seperated from the Congregation of the Lord.

Elder Oliver. I did not thinke the Church would have come thus far for soone, especially seinge when I tauked wth her in the morninge I saw her to come of for freely in her Confession of her sine in contemninge Magistrats & Ministers.

M^r Elliot. It is a wonderfull Wisdome of God to let them fall by that whereby they have upheld their Opinions, & carried them as to let her fall into such Lies, as she hath done this day, for she hath caried on all her Errors by Lies, as that she held nothinge but what M^r Cotten did, & that he & she was all one in Judgment, & for it fared wth divers others, that we have cast out of our Church of these opinions. [Rev.] 22. 15.

M^r Cotten. The matter is now translated, the last day she was delt wth in poynt of Doctrine, now she is delt wth in poynt of practise, & for it belongs to the Pastors Office to instruct

instruct & also to correct in Righteousnes, whan a Lye is open & persisted in, in the face of the Congregation after proved by Witnes. I know not how to satisfye myselve in it, but accordinge to that in Revel. 22. 15. If it come to this to the makinge of a Lye; than without shall be doges,¹ & such as love & makes lyes. therfor though she have confessed, that she sees many of the Things wch she held to be Errors, & that it proceded from the Roote Pride of Spirit, yet I see this pride of Harte is not healed but is working still, & therfor to keep secret some unfownd Opinions, God hath lett her fall into a manifest Lye, yea to make a Lye, & therfor as we received her in amongst us I thinke we are bound upon this Grownd to remove her from us & not to retayne her any longer, seeinge she doth prevaricate in her Words, as that her Judgment is one Thing & her Expression is another.

M^r Damphord. God will not bare with Mixtures in this kinde, therfor yow must freely Confesse the Truth, take Shame to yo^r selfe, that God may have the Glory, & I fear that God will not let you see yo^r sine, & confes it, till the Ordinance of God hath taken place agaynst yow. Soe that it semes to me God hath a purpose to goe on in the Course of his Judgment agaynst you.

Quest. I desire to be satisfied in this how the Church may proceed to Excommunication, whan the Scripture saythe he that confesseth & forsaketh sine shall have Mercy, & whether we should not bare with Patience the contrary minded.

M^r Cotten. Confession of Sine thear is ment withall the
Agrivations

¹ For without are dogs, and forcers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth

and maketh a lie." — Revelation xxii. 15.

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Agrivations of it . . wch yet hath not appeared to us, & by baring wth the contrary minded, is ment of these that are wthout

*M^r Scot.*¹ I desire to propownd this one Scruple, wch keepes me that I canot foe freely in my spirit give way to Excommunication / whether it wear not better, to give her a little time to consider of the Things that is . . . vised agaynst her, because *she is not yet convinced of her Lye* & foe things is with her in Distraction, & she canot recollect her Thoughts.

M^r Cotten. This now is not for poynt of Doctrin, wherin we must suffer her wth patience, but we now deal wth her in poynt of fact or practise, as the makinge & houldinge of a Lye: now in poynt of groce fact, thear may be a present proceedinge.

M^r Shephard. I perceve it is the Desire of many of the Brethren to stay her Excommunication, & to let a second Admonition lye upon her;² but now for one not to drop a Lye, but to make a Lye, & to mayntayne a Lye: & to doe it in a day of Humiliation, & in the sight of God, & such a Congregation as this is, I would have this Church consider. whether it will be for the Honor of God & the hono^r of this Church to bare with patience foe groce an offendor.

M^r Mather. The Apostle sayth an Hereticke after once or twife Admonition reject & cut of like a Gangrene as the word

¹ Richard Scott, the husband of Catherine Mabury, a sister of Mrs. Hutchinson; in regard to Richard Scott see Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary of New England*, Vol. IV. p. 138, and Savage's *Winthrop*, Vol. I. p. 293.

² Attention is called to this statement, or admission, of Shepard's, taken

in connection with the efforts at expofulation of Scott and the "Questioner" and "Straynger" whose names are not given, as indicating the undercurrent of sympathy with Mrs. Hutchinson which still existed in the Boston church. The church action taken was apparently forced by the clergy and magistrates. X

word signifies: now, she hath bine once admonished allready, why than should not the Church proceed.

M^r Leverit. The Word is after once or twice by a Copulative.¹

Deputie. I would answer this to M^r Leverit, to his Objection after twise Admonition; Now M^{rs} Huchison hath bine delt [with] and admonished, not once, twise nor thrice, but many Times, by privat Bretheren, & by Elders of other Congregations, & by her owne Church, therfor that should be no scruple, besides I thinke that text doth not speake of the Admonition of the Church but of privat Admonition.

Straynger. I would desire to knowe, if the Church procedes agaynst her, whether it be for Doctrine, or for her Lye: if for her Lye. than I consent: if it be for her Doctrine, she hath renounced that as Eroneus, & than I want Light to goe wth the Church in it.

Brother Willson. For my part, if the Church proceds. I thinke it is, & it should be, for her Errors in Opinion, as well as for poynt of Practise, for though she hath made some showe of Repentance yet it doth not seme to be cordial & sincere, & that of *Achan tho he did confes & acknowledge his sine, yet Joshua, & that by the apoyntment of God, did proced agaynst him,* & in Corinth, as soon as ever the Apostle herd of that sine committed agaynst them, he writes his Letter, *to cast them out forthwith* without delay.

M^r Cotten: For yow to propownd Termes of Delay: what Rule have yow for it, whan in poynt of practife, thear hath bine a presant proceeding, as in Acts 5. *as soon as ever Annanias had tould a Lye, the Church cast them out.*

Brother

¹ "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition reject."
— Titus iii. 10.

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Brother Willson. The Church consenting to it we will proceed to

EXCOMMUNICATION.

Forasmuch as yow, M^r Huchison, have highly transgressed & offended, & forasmuch as yow have soe many ways *troubled the Church with yo^r Errors* & have drawn away many a poor soule, & have *upheld yo^r Revelations*: & forasmuch as *yow have made a Lye, &c.* Therfor in the name of our Lord Je: Ch: & in the name of the Church I doe not only pronounce yow worthy to be cast owt, but *I doe cast you out* & in the name of Ch. *I doe deliver you up to Sathan*, that yow may learne no more to blaspheme, to seduce & to lye, & I doe account yow from this time forth to be a Hethen & a Publican & soe to be held of all the Bretheren & Sisters, of this Congregation, & of others: therfo^r *I command yow* in the name of Ch: Je: & of this Church *as a Leper to withdraw yo^r selfe owt of the Congregation*; that as formerly yow have despised & contemned the Holy Ordinances of God, & turned yo^r Backe one them, soe yow may now have no part in them nor benefit by them."



The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared.¹

Secl. 13. Of Cottons pretended Antinomianisme and Familisme.

The Diffwader proceedeth to point at (as hee calleth it)
“another more dangerous fall of mine, which in his Margent,
“ he

1 THE WAY OF CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES CLEARED:

In two Treatises

In the former, From the Historical Aspersions of Mr. Robert Baylie, in his Book, called [A Diffwative from the Errors of the Time.]

In the latter, From some Contradictions of VINDICÆ CLAVIUM:

And from, Some Mis-constructions of Learned Mr. Kutherford in his Book intitled [The due Right of Presbyteries.]

By Mr. JOHN COTTON, sometime Preacher at Boston in Lincolnshire, and now Teacher of the Church at Boston, in New-England.

London,

Printed by Matthew Simmons, for John Bellamy, at the signe of the three Golden-Lions, in Cornhill. 1648.

The prominence of “the New England way,” as it was called, or the

Congregational system of church government, in the discussions which attended the Westminster Assembly, has been referred to in the introductory matter of the present volume (*supra*, p. 29). Cotton was recognized generally as the father and leading exponent of the system, and the most famous and important of all his writings was that entitled *The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven, and Power Thereof*, published in London in 1644. But two years before, in 1642, he had sent over a prior tract, entitled *The True Constitution of a particular visible Church, proved by Scripture*. Of this earlier publication Masson says (*Milton*, Vol. II. p. 598): “It was much read, and it passed into a second edition, with a changed title, within a year; and Cotton became from that moment the exponent of moderate Independency whom the Presbyterians felt themselves most
brund

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“he nameth Mr. Cottons Antinomianisme, and Familisme:
 “and within a few lines, his wandring into the horrible
 “ Errors

bound to answer.” When, therefore, *The Keyes* appeared, it was accepted at once “as the most complete and influential statement of the actual early New England Congregationalism; a position,” adds Henry M. Dexter, “which I may say it has never lost. Two or three editions were issued within the year, with the general endorsement of the leaders of the Independent party in the [Westminster] Assembly, as setting forth ‘that very Middle-way (which in our *Apologie* we did in the general intimate and intend) between that which is called *Brownisme*, and the *Presbyteriall-government*, as it is practiced’” (*Congregationalism as seen in its Literature*, pp. 433, 434).

Robert Baillie — better known from the title of Carlyle’s essay as “Baillie the Covenanter” — was a member of the Westminster Assembly, and among the most active and earnest of the advocates of Presbyterianism. His recognition and estimate of Cotton have already been quoted (*supra*, p. 29), and reference made to the fact that he was at the time suspected of being instrumental in causing the publication of the *Short Story* (*supra*, p. 35). If such was the case, the printing in London, in 1642, of Cotton’s *True Constitution* may account for the publication there in 1644 — two years later — of the *Short Story*, as it may then have been brought out with a view to discrediting “the New England way,” by connecting its recognized exponent with the Antinomians, — a sect the “huge increase and info-

lencies intolerable” of which were at this particular juncture causing Parliament and the Presbyterians great mental anguish (Masson’s *Milton*, Vol. III. p. 161). This view of the matter was certainly taken by Cotton Mather, who says (*Magnalia*, B. III. Chap. I. § 21), “the report given of Mr. Cotton on this occasion [Antinomianism, &c.] by one Bailly, a Scotchman, in a most scandalous pamphlet, called, *A Dissuasive*, written to cast an odium on the churches of New-England, by vilifying him, that was one of their most eminent servants, are most horrid injuries.” But whether there was, or was not, any secret connection between the printing of Winthrop’s manuscript at this juncture, and a pre-arranged onslaught upon the exponent of “the New England way,” it is certain that when in the following year (1645) Baylie brought out his *Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time*, he made in it free use of the *Short Story* as an arsenal from which to obtain weapons of offense against Cotton.

Copies of both the *Short Story* and the *Dissuasive* reached New England not long after their publication, and, as its titlepage shows, largely in response to the aspersions or “testimonies” on himself found in the latter, Cotton prepared his *Way of Congregational Churches Cleared*, published in London in 1648.

The *Way Cleared*, as it is commonly designated, has never been reprinted, or published in an annotated form. It is a small quarto tract of 158 pages,

and

"Errors of the Antinomians, and Familists, with his [39] "dear friend Ms. *Hutchinson*, so far that he came to a "resolution to side with her, and to Separate from all the "Churches in *New-England*, as legal Synagogues.

If all this charge were true (as indeed, in all parts of it, it is false:) yet the errors of Antinomianisme, and Familisme, then stirring in the Countrey, and condemned in the Synod at *New-Towne*, were not more dangerous, then the old Montanisme.¹ I confesse, the Familisme afterwards broached by Mr. *Garton*, and his followers, the same which *Calvin* in his *Opuscula* refuteth (in his *Instructio adversus Libertinos*) as *Calvin* judgeth it more dangerous then Popery, so I conceive it to be as dangerous as Montanisme, though I cannot say more dangerous: for both of them overthrow all principles & foundations of Christian Religion. But for the making good of this charge upon me, let Mr. *Baylie* be pleased to instance in those horrible errors either of Antinomianisme or Familisme, whereunto I either wandred or fell:

Or

and copies of it are to be found in almost all the large collections.

X So far as the Antinomian controversy is concerned, the *Way Cleared* is of value as giving Cotton's account of the matter. The subject was one not agreeable to him, and towards the end of his life he is reported to have destroyed all his papers and manuscripts relating to it.

X Only that portion of the *Way Cleared* which relates to the Antinomian controversy is included in this publication; nor has it been deemed necessary to verify its references or annotate it, except in so far as the statements or allu-

sions in it relate to the events in that controversy, or the parties to it.

¹ The Montanists were a sect of the Christian Church founded during the second century by Montanus of Phrygia. Enthusiasts and rigorous ascetics, they constituted a species of protest against the secularizing tendencies of the church as a body. They believed in the inspiration of Montanus, the continuance of miraculous gifts, the second advent, and the establishment of the heavenly Jerusalem. See the references to the modern Montanistic researches in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article *Montanism*.

Or let him make it appeare "that I came to such a Resolu-
 "tion, to side with my dear friend Ms. *Hutchinson*, and to
 "separate from all the Churches in *New England*, as legall
 "Synagogues.

Let us examine his proofes and Testimonies.

"1. The first is from the parties themselves, the followers
 "of Ms. *Hutchinson*, who (saith he) boast of Mr. *Cotton* for
 "their Master and Patron.

And it is true, they professed so: just as *Wightman* who
 was burnt at *Lichfield* for Montanisme, (avouching himself
 to be the Holy Ghost) professed he had received all his
 grounds from Mr. *Hilderjam*. And I confesse my self, being
 naturally (I thank God) not suspitious, hearing no more of
 their Tenents from them, then what seemed to mee Ortho-
 doxall, I beleeved, they had been far off from such grosse
 errors, as were bruited of them. But when some of my
 fellow-Brethren (the Elders of Neighbour Churches) adver-
 tised me of the evill report that went abroad of their corrupt
 Tenents, I desired to know what the Tenents were, which
 were corrupt, and which they had vented here and there, in
 my name. They mentioned some to me, some of those
 which are published in the short story of that Subject: and
 named also to me the persons, who had uttered the same.
 I therefore dealt with Mrs. *Hutchinson* and others of them,

declaring to them the erroneoufnesse of those Tenents,
 [40] and the injury done to my self in fathering them upon
 mee. Both shee, and they utterly denied, that they
 held such Tenents, or that they had fathered them upon mee.
 I returned their Answer to the Elders, who had spoken to
 mee of them: and I inquired, if any two of them, or of their
 Neighbours

Neighbours could bear witness in this case. They answered me, they had but one witness of any corrupt Tenent: and that one, loth to be known to be an accuser of them. I replied, what course would you then advise mee to take? They answered, that I could not indeed bring the matter to the Church for want of witnesses: But the best way would be, publicly and privately to bear witness against such errors. I took their counsel, and bare witness against the errors complained of, as well publicly as privately. Which when some Elders and Brethren heard, meeting soon after with some of these Opinionists: "Loe, say they, now wee have heard your Teacher bearing witness openly against those very points, which you falsely father on him. No matter (say the other) what you heare him say in publick: we know what hee saith to us in private. This answer bred in some of my Brethren and friends, a jealousy, that my selfe was a secret fomentor of this spirit of Familisme, if not leavened my self that way. Whereupon sundry Elders and Brethren perceiving these Errors to spread, secretly and closely, they consulted among themselves, and with me what I thought of a Synod, whether it might be of use in such a case for the clearing of these Points, and the allaying of the jealousies and differences in the Countrey? I answered, yea. Thereupon, with consent of the Magistrates, a time, and place was appointed for a Synodical meeting, and sundry Elders were sent for, from other jurisdictions, and messengers from all the Churches in the Countrey to assist in this worke.

Against which time three things principally were attended for preparation.

1. A Solemne Fast kept in all the Churches: in which it
 X fell out, that Mr. *Whelewrights* Sermon was apprehended to
 give too much encouragement to the Opinionists. And
 himself hath since confessed, that being but new come into
 the Countrey, having but little acquaintance but with his
 kindred, and their friends, (who were many of them leved
 this way) he spake some things, which if he had before
 discerned their Familisme, he would not have expressed
 himself as he did.¹

[41] The 2. thing attended to, for preparation to the Synod,
 was, the gathering up of all the corrupt and offensive
 Opinions that were scattered up and down the Countrey,
 and to commend them to Publique Disquisition in the
 X Synod: that howsoever, the Authours of them were loth to
 owne them publikely, yet at least, they might see them
 publikely tryed, confuted, and condemned. The which
 was accordingly done in the Synod: and the Opinions with
 their Confutations are since printed in the short story,
 whence Mr. *Baylie* fetcheth many Testimonies.

The 3. thing thought needfull for preparation to the
 Synod, was, to gather out of my Sermons to the people,
 and my conferences (in word and writing) with the Elders,
 all such opinions of mine as were conceived by some, to bee
 erroneous: and having gathered them together, to inquire
 X in a brotherly conference with mee, how far I would own
 them, or how I did understand them, that so the true state
 of the questions in difference might appeare; and withall, if
 there were any aguish distemper, or disaffection growen in
 any of our spirits amongst our selves, it might be healed in

¹ Bell's *Whelewright*, pp. 47-52.

a private brotherly way, and mutuall satisfaction given and taken on all hands. Accordingly we had such a meeting in private; wherein five questions were propounded unto mee, with desire of my plaine and explicite answer to the same: which also upon their demand, I gave suddenly.

Quest. 1.

"Whether our Union with Christ be complet before and without Faith?"

Where I gave this answer, which was taken in writing: "Not without, nor before the habit (or gift) of Faith, but before the act of Faith; that is, not before Christ hath wrought Faith in us (for in uniting himself to us, he worketh Faith in us:) yet in order of nature, before our faith doth put forth it self to lay hold on him.

For indeed I looked at Union with Christ, as equippollent to Regeneration. And looke as in Generation we are in a passive way united to Adam: so in Regeneration wee are united to Christ. And as the soule *habet se mere passive* (in the judgement of our best Divines) in Regeneration, so also in union, and by the judgment of Christ himself, who faith, without Christ abiding in us (and so united to us) [42] we can doe nothing, not bring forth any spiritual fruit at all: much lesse can we before union with Christ, unite our selves to Christ, which is the greatest and most spirituall fruit of all.] I was not ignorant, that some of the Schoolmen (even some Dominicans) & out of them *Ferius*, and some others, (even of judicious Protestants) are of opinion, that Christ doth give the Soule by the Almighty power of the *auxilium efficax* of his Spirit, to put forth an act of Faith, to

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lay hold on Christ, before hee give them a habit or gift of Faith. But I could not understand how this could stand with Christs Word, *That without Christ abiding in us, we can doe nothing.* Which argueth, no spirituall act can be done by us without Christ habitually permanent in us. And as acute and judicious *Baynes* saith, (in *Ephes. 1*) This were to give a man to see, without an eye to see withall: which though God can doe by his Almighty power, yet as the Philosopher said of *Entia*: so it may be much more said of *Miracula* (which are extraordinary *Entia*) *Miracula sine necessitate non sunt multiplicanda.*

QUEST. II.

Whether Faith be an instrumentall cause in applying Christs righteousness to our Justification.

Whereto I answered,

"Faith is an instrument to receive the righteousness of Christ applyed to us of God, for our Justification: but not properly an instrumentall cause.

Where I understood Instrument, as the Hebrews doe, ^{יכל} which they indifferently put for Instrument, or Vessel: For Faith emptying the soule of all confidence in its own righteousness, is a fit vessell or instrument to receive the righteousness of Christ offered and imputed; and so I tooke Faith rather as a fit disposition of the subject to be justified, then as a proper instrumentall cause of our justification; like the empty vessels of the Prophets widow, which whilst they were empty, the oyle ran forth into them (the empty vessels being fit to receive it:) But yet the empty vessels were not properly instrumentall causes of the running forth of the Oyle, but onely fit instruments to receive it.

QUEST.

QUEST. 3.

[43]

Whether the Spirit of God in evidencing our Justification doth beare witnesse in an absolute promise of free Grace, without Qualification, or condition. X

My answer was,

"The Spirit in evidencing our Justification doth bear
"witnesse either in an absolute promise, or in a conditionall: X
"in case, the condition bee understood, or applyed absolutely,
"not attending the condition as the ground or cause of the
"assurance, but as the effect and consequence of it: or (as I
"might have added, as before) as a fit disposition of the
"subject to receive it.

For I conceived, though the Spirit may evidence to us our Justification in a Qualification or condition: yet sometime the condition is not there before the promise, but freely given with the promise, as *Acts* 10. 43, 44. where though *Cornelius* and his household were beleevers, yet many of his kindred and friends were not: who yet upon hearing the promise of Remission (or Justification) unto Faith, they received both Faith and Justification, and the evidence of both, all together: as did also the Jailor in the like sort, *Act.* 16. 31. Sometime, though the Qualification or condition bee there before, and the Spirit doe bear witnesse to our Justification in that condition: yet the condition is not the cause either of justification, or of the evidence of it, as in *Luke* 7, 47. Christ beareth evident witnesse of the Remission or Justification of *Mary Magdalen*, in her love to him. Neverthelesse her love was not the cause, neither of her Justification, nor of the assurance of it, but an effect of
both.

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X both. For shee expressed those evidences of her love to Christ, because her sins were forgiven her, and because her self was assured of the forgivenesse of them.

Sometimes the Qualification or condition mentioned in the promise, though it bee in the soule before, yet it is not evident there before. And then the evidence of Justification springeth not from the condition, but from the Grace of the promise, clearing and evidencing both the condition and the Justification. Thus Christ applyeth himselfe by his Spirit, to bruised Reeds, or broken hearts. *I/a.* 57. 15.

X Lastly, if Faith it self bee meant to be the saving [44] qualification or condition, and be also found, and that evidently in the soul to whom the Promise of Justification is made; yet the Spirit may bear witness in the Promise of Grace to the Justification of such a soul, without either the word expressing the Condition in that place, or the soul attending the Condition at that time: As when Christ said to the Woman, *Luk.* 7. 48. *Thy finnes are forgiven thee*, He neither mentioneth her Faith in that word, nor doth it appear, that she did reflect upon her Faith in receiving that Promise at that time. Many an Israelite stung by the fiery Serpents in the wildernesse, might look up to the brazen Serpent for healing, and yet at that time not look to their eye, nor think upon their eye by which they looked. And though afterwards Christ doe make expresse mention of the womans Faith, to which he attributeth her salvation, (*Woman*, saith he, *thy Faith hath saved thee*, ver. 50.) Neverthelesse, that Faith, though it be an Evidence of Assurance in the subject Person of his Justification: yet it is also an Effect or Consequence of the Evidence and Assurance

ance of the Object, that is, of the grace and mercy of God clearly revealed and applyed to the soul in the Promise, even to the begetting of Faith it self, and the Assurance of it. As when Christ did promise (by the Ministry of Paul) salvation to the Jaylor in Beleeving; the Grace of Christ clearly revealed and applyed in the Promise did beget Faith in the Jaylor, and the Assurance of Faith. And so his Faith, and the Assurance of it was an Effect and Consequence of the Grace and Assurance of it offered to him in the Promise. Faith though it be an Evidence of things not seen (with bodily eye;) yet it is an effect of a former Evidence, even of the light of Gods Countenance shining forth through Christ in the Promise of Grace upon the soul, to the begetting of Faith, and the assurance of it.

But howsoever, Faith being always of a self humbling efficacy, it is a fit disposition of the subject to receive comfort and assurance, *Isa.* 57. 15.

Calvin defineth Faith to be *Divina ergo nos benevolentia firmam certamque cognitionem, quæ gratuita in Christo Promissionis veritate fundata, per Spiritum Sanctum & revelatur mentibus nostris & cordibus obsignatur. Institut.* l. 3. c. 2. *Secl.* 7. Now when hee cometh to expound what he meaneth by the free promise of grace in Christ, upon which this knowledg (or assurance) of Faith is [45] founded, he maketh it to be, nor conditionall. And he giveth this reason, "*Quoniam* (saith he) *Conditionalis Pro-*
"*missio quæ ad opera nostra remittimur, non aliter vitam*
"*promittit, quàm si perspiciamus esse in nobis fitam. Ergo,*
"*nisi Fidem tremere, ac vacillare volumus, illam Salutis Pro-*
"*missionis fulciamus oportet, quæ à Domino ultrò ac libera-*
"*liter,*

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"lites, potiusque miseria nostra quam dignitatis respectu offeratur; ibidem Sect. 29.

But what was the occasion of this Question whether from any speech or writing of mine, I cannot call to minde, unless it were concerning the First evidence of justification, which is the purport of the next Question. For otherwise, if Faith and Assurance be first founded and bottomed upon a Promise of Free-grace, I never doubted, but that Sanctification or Faith, (any saving qualification) may be, (and is by the help of the Spirit) a clear and certain Evidence of Justification. So that put the Question *in terminis*,

X "Whether the Spirit of God in Evidencing our Justification doth bear witness in an absolute Promise of Free-Grace, without qualification or condition?

X I should answer plainly and roundly, The Spirit doth Evidence our Justification both wayes, sometime in an absolute Promise, sometime in a conditionall.

QUEST. 4.

X *Whether some Saving Qualification may be a first Evidence of Justification?*

Hereto I answered,

"A man may have an argument from thence, (yea, I doubt not a firm and strong argument) but not a first Evidence.

For I conceived, Faith it self, which is an evidence of things not seen, and the first saving Qualification that doth Evidence Justification, is it self founded upon a former evidence, even the Free-Grace of God in Christ, revealed in the promise of Grace, and applyed to the soul effectually by the Spirit of grace both in our effectual Calling (even to the begetting

begetting of Faith) and in our Justification. Accordingly, the Apostle reckoning the Evidences that bear witness of our life in Christ, giveth the first place to the Spirit, before any fruit of the Spirit; There are three (saith he) that bear witness on earth, the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, 1 Joh. 5. 8. First, the Spirit, to wit, of illumination [46] and drawing, whereby he revealeth Christ to us, and worketh Faith in us, 2 Cor. 4. 6. Ephes. 1. 17, 18. Joh. 6, 44, 45. Secondly, the water of Sanctification. And thirdly, the Blood of atonement (or pacification) pacifying the conscience.

Calvin also is of the same judgment in this Question, in 2 Pet. 1. 10 & in 1 Joh 3. 14 & 19.

And Zanchy likewise doth at large dispute this Question, and conclude it against Dr. Marbachius in his *Miscellanies*, in that part of it entituled, *Disceptatio inter duos Theologos*, from pag. 598. to pag. 605. *Editionis in quarto*.

QUEST. 5.

Whether Christ and his benefits be dispensed in a Covenant of Works?

Whereunto my answer was,

"Christ is dispensed to the Elect in a Covenant of Grace: to others he may be dispensed in some sort, (to wit, in a taste of him) either in a Covenant of works, or in a Covenant of grace legally applied.

To give an hint of the reason of mine answer. The Covenant on Mount *Sinai*, (wherein Christ was dispensed in sacrifices and ceremonies) though to the faithfull seed of *Abraham* it was a Covenant of Grace, (wherein they saw
Christ

X
 Christ and his benefits graciously dispensed to them, *Pfal* 51, 7.) yet to the carnall seed, it seemed to me to be a Covenant of Works, to prepare them for the saving benefits of that Covenant of Grace which was formerly given to *Abraham* and his seed, (but neglected by them in *Egypt*) and afterwards renewed in the plains of *Moab*, *Deut.* chap. 29 & Chap. 30. And so *Paul* maketh that Covenant on Mount *Sinai*, to be expressly a different Covenant from that of grace, to wit, a Covenant gendring unto bondage, *Gal.* 4. 24, 25. and the other Covenant (*Deut.* 30) to be of Grace, *Rom.* 10. 6, 7, 8. *Moses* also himself, having recited the Covenant on Mount *Sinai* (*Deut.* 5.) he maketh the observation of all the Commandements to be the righteoufnesse of the people, *Deut.* 6. 25. and their life, *Levit.* 18. 4. And so *Paul* understandeth him, *Rom.* 10. 5. *Gal.* 3. 12. Now that Covenant which gendreth unto bondage, and [47] holdeth forth righteoufnesse and life upon obedience to all the Commandements, it is a Covenant of Works.

X
 And so have the chiefest Germane Divines, as well as *Piscator*, and *Polanus*, taken the Covenant on Mount *Sinai* to bee a covenant of Workes. See *Piscator*, *Ezek.* 16. *Observat, ultima in vers.* 60. 62 & *Polanus ibidem.*

How far there arose any consent or dissent about these questions, between my Fellow-Brethren (the Elders of these churches) & my self, it is not materiall now to particularize; it is enough, that upon our clear understanding of one anothers mindes & judgments, and upon the due proceeding of our Church against convinced notorious errors and scandalls, wee have ever since (by the Grace of Christ) much amiable

amiable and comfortable Communion together in al brotherly kindness. But this short relation may suffice.

To let Mr. *Baylie* know, and all them that shall read his Book, to consider, what slender "ground hee had to speak "of my wandring into the horrible Errors of the Antinomians, and Familists, and siding therein with Mistris "*Hutchinson*, and therein to tell the world of a more dangerous fall of mine, then that of Montanisme: And withall "to clear up to him, what little ground Mistris *Hutchinson* "had, to pretend, that shee was of Mr. *Cottons* judgement in "all things: that so Mr. *Baylie* may likewise observe what ground himself had to take up such a report against me, upon her testimony. Which yet will the more fully appeare, if I proceed to relate a principall passage or two in the Synod, after it was assembled. It was the first act of the Synod (after Prayer and choice of Moderators) to propound the severall offensive opinions, which had been disperfed up and downe in the Countrey, and briefly to argue them, and bear witnesse against them. The opinions were about fourscore (more or lesse) which being orderly propounded and argued against, I perceived that some of the Members & Messengers of our Church, were ready to rise up, and plead in defence of sundry corrupt Opinions, which I verily thought had been far from them; especially such as concerned union with Christ before Faith, Justification without Fiath, inherent righteousnes, and evidencing a good estate by it at all, first or last. Whereupon, assoon as I could get liberty of speech with them, "Brethren (said I) if you be of "that judgment which you plead for, all these Bastardly "Opinions, which are justly offensive to the Churches, will

"be

Letter

“be fathered upon *Boston*. They answered me again,
 [48] “Though they were not clear for those Opinions,
 “which they spake for, yet neither were they clear for
 “condemning of them, considering the tenderness of some
 “Consciences: I replied, if they were doubtfull of the
 “Erroneousnesse and danger of such Opinions, they should
 “have dealt openly with the Church at home, when they
 “were chosen Messengers, and should have declared their
 “judgments before the Church: as knowing such points
 “amongst others were likely to come into agitation in the
 “Synod: whereas now looke what they speak, it is con-
 “ceived by the whole Countrey to bee the judgment of our
 “Church.

Hereupon some of the Messengers of our Church with-
 drew themselves, and appeared no more in the Synod, such
 as did appear, did much what forbear any prosecution of
 argument in such causes. But that (to my remembrance)
 was the first time of my discerning a real and broad differ-
 ence, between the judgments of our Brethren (who leaned
 to Mistris *Hutchinson*) and my self. And therefore to clear
 my self, and the sounder Members of our Church from
 partaking in those manifold errors there presented, I de-
 clared my judgment openly before all the assembly, “That I
 “esteemed some of the Opinions, to bee blasphemous: some
 “of them, hereticall: many of them, Erroneous: and almost
 “all of them, incommodiously expressed: as intending to
 “except those chiefly, wherein I had declared mine own
 “opinion, as before.

But because I would deale openly and ingenuously with
 Mr. *Baylie*, and hide nothing from him, that might fortify
 his

his accusation against me, there was some colour of my leaning to one Antinomian Tenent in one day of the Synod. For though in answer to the questions of the Elders before the Synod, I had affirmed Faith to be an instrument for the receiving the righteousness of Christ to our justification: yet for as much as some great Divines had let fall some expressions, that seemed to favour the Antinomian party in a contrary Tenent, I was desirous to hear that Point a little further ventilated, and to see the difficulties a little more fully cleared. Dr. *Twisse* (not suspected for an Antinomian, much lesse for a Familist) in his *vindiciæ gratiæ, de electione, Parte 2. Section. 25. Numero 5.* bringeth in *Arminius*, arguing against Mr. *Perkins*, thus: "The righteousness of Christ wrought or performed, is not ours, as wrought or performed, but as by Faith imputed to us. Whereto the Dr. answereth, Before Faith, this Righteousnesse [49] of Christ was ours, and in the intention of God the Father, and of Christ our Mediator, was wrought for us. And because it is wrought for us, therefore God in his own time will give it us, and Grace of every kind, even Faith it self amongst the rest. But Faith coming, (which the Holy Ghost kindleth in our hearts) then at length this love of God to us in *Christ*, is acknowledged & perceived. Whence it is, that the Righteousnesse of Christ is said to bee imputed to us, by Faith, because it is not discerned to be imputed to us, but by Faith: and then we are said to be justified with that kind of Justification, & absolution from sin, which breedeth peace in our Consciences.

"And this (saith he) I confirm by two arguments. 1. Because by the Righteousnesse of Christ, wee obtain not onely
"Remission

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X
 " Remission of finnes, but Faith it self, and Repentance, as
 " it is writen, God hath blessed us with all spirituall blessings
 " in Christ, *Ephes.* 1. 3. Therefore even before Faith and
 " Repentance, the Righteousnesse of Christ is applied to us,
 " as for which wee obtain Grace effectuall to believe in
 X
 " Christ, and to repent. 2. Because Justification and ab-
 " solution, as they signify an immanent act in God, are *ab*
 " eterno, &c.

" Wherto he subjoyneth the Poets ingenuous verse to the reader.

" *Si quid novisti rectius istis,*

" *Candidus imperti; si non, bis utere mecum.*

Before Dr. *Twisse*, *Chamier* (a Divine, as free as the other from suspicion of Antinomianisme) denyeth Faith to bee a cause of Justification: " For if it were (saith hee) Justification should not be of Grace, but of us. But Faith is said to justify, not because it effecteth Justification, but because it is effected in the justified person, and requisite to be found in him. *De Fide libr.* 13. *cap.* 6. And to the same purpose, *De Justificatione, libr.* 22. *cap.* 12. hee contendeth, that Faith as it doth not merit, nor bring Justification, so neither doth it (*impetrare*) obtain it. For if it were so, then *tum ratione, tum tempore Fides praecederet Justificationem*, Faith should goe before Justification, both in nature and time: Which (saith hee) in no sort may be granted. For Faith is it self a part of Sanctification; but there is no Sanctification, but after Justification, *quæ & re, & naturè prior est*, which both in the thing it self, and in nature is before it.

To

To the like purpose doth Mr. *Pemble* deliver his judgment in his Book of the Nature and Properties of Grace and Faith, Page 24. 26. of his Edition in Folio. [50]

The Discrepance of all these Divines from the received expressions of the most, gave just occasion, why in such an Assembly, the judgment of sundry acute and judicious Elders, might be enquired. Accordingly, in one day of their dispute in the Synod (with Mr. *Wheelwright*, if I forget not) I interposed such a word as this, God may be said to justify me before the habit, or act of Faith, and the habit is the effect of my Justification, intending the same sense, as hath been expressed out of those Divines: upon which, the next day was taken up in disputing and arguing that Point with mee. And when I saw their apprehensions, that they were suitable to Scripture phrase, and the contrary difficulties might be removed *sano sensu*, I the next morning did of my self freely declare to them publickly, my consent with them in the point, which (as they professed) they gladly accepted. X

Now upon all this relation (which is the substance of the whole Truth in this cause) I desire Mr. *Baylie* might consider what ground hee had, "either to report mee to the "World as sometimes dangerously fallen into the horrible "Errors of Antinomianisme, and Familisme: or to take Ms. "Hutchinsons report in this cause, That she was of Mr. "Cottons judgment in all things. Let him please to read the short story of the Errors and heresies, for which shee was admonished publickly in *Boston* Church, and compare them with the Tenents of mine now mentioned, and let him judge of himself, whether she was of Mr. *Cottons* judgment in all things. \

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I would not have enlarged my self so much, either to clear her testimony, or to elevate it, were it not to take off some scruples and surmises in Mr. *Baylie* of some dangerous guilt in me of Antinomian, and Familistical errors, which he thinks cannot be avoided by what he collecteth from other testimonies, as well as hers which may fully be prevented and avoided by this relation of the true state of things.

But before I leave speech of her, let me speak a word to Mr. *Baylie* of the Epithet hee is pleased to give her, "when hee styleth her, my dear friend, with whom I resolved to side and separate from all the Churches in *New-England*, as Legall Churches.

At her first coming she was well respected and [51] esteemed of me, not onely because herself and her family were well beloved in *England* at *Allford* in *Lincolnshire* (not far beyond *Boston*;) nor onely because she with her family came over hither (as was said) for conscience sake: but chiefly for that I heard, shee did much good in our Town, in womans meeting at Childbirth-Travells, wherein shee was not onely skilfull and helpfull, but readily fell into good discourse with the women about their spirituall estates: And therein cleared it unto them, That the soul lying under a Spirit of Bondage, might see and sensibly feel the hainous guilt, and deep desert of sin, and thereby not onely undergoc affliction of Spirit but also receive both restraining, and constraining Grace likewise, (in some measure:) restraining from all known evill (both courses, and companies) (at least for a season) and constraining to all knowen duties, as secret Prayer, Family Exercises, Conscience

science of Sabbaths, Reverence of Ministers, Frequenting of Sermons, Diligence in calling, honesty in dealing and the like: yea and that the Soul might find some tastes and flashes of spirituall comfort in this estate, and yet never see or feel the need of Christ, much lesse attain any saving Union, or Communion with him, being no more but Legall work, even what the Law, and the Spirit of bondage (breathing in it) might reach unto. By which means many of the women (and by them their husbands) were convinced, that they had gone on in a Covenant of Works, and were much shaken and humbled thereby, and brought to enquire more seriously after the Lord Jesus Christ, without whom all their Gifts and Graces would prove but common, and their duties but legall, and in the end wizen and vanish. All this was well (as is reported truely, *page 31* of her Story) and suited with the publike Ministry, which had gone along in the same way, so as these private conferences did well tend to water the seeds publicly sowed. Whereupon all the faithful embraced her conference, and blessed God for her fruitful discourses. And many whose spirituall estates were not so safely layed, yet were hereby helped and awakened to discover their sandy foundations, and to seek for better establishment in Christ: which caused them also to blesse the Lord for the good successe, which appeared to them by this discovery.

Hitherto therefore shee wrought with God, and with the Ministers, the work of the Lord. No marvell therefore if at that time, shee found loving and dear respect both from our Church-Elders and Brethren, and so from my [52] self also amongst the rest.

Afterwards.

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Afterwards, it is true, she turned aside not only to corrupt opinions, but to dis-esteem generally the Elders of the churches, (though of them shee esteemed best of Mr. *Shepherd*;) and for my selfe, (in the repetitions of Sermons in her house) what shee repeated and confirmed, was accounted sound, what shee omitted, was accounted Apocrypha. This change of hers was long hid from me: and much longer the evidence of it, by any two clear witnesses. I sent some Sisters of the Church on purpose to her Repetitions, that I might know the truth: but when shee discerned any such present, no speech fell from her, that could be much excepted against. But further discourse about her course is not pertinent to the present businesse. But by this Mr. *Baylis* may discerne, how farre Ms. *Hutchinson* was dear unto mee, and if hee speak of her as my deare friend, till shee turned aside, I refuse it not.

But yet thus much I must professe to him, That in the times of her best acceptance, shee was not so dear unto mee, but that (by the help of Christ) I dealt faithfully with her about her spirituall estate. There¹ things I told her, made her spirituall estate unclear to mee. 1. "That her Faith was not begotten nor (by her relation) scarce at any time strengthened, by publick Ministry, but by private Meditations, or Revelations onely.

"2. That shee clearly discerned her Justification (as shee professed:) but little or nothing at all, her Sanctification: though (shee said) shee beleaved, such a thing there was by plain Scripture.

"3. That she was more sharply censorious of other mens
"spirituall

¹ Misprint for "three."

"spirituall estates and hearts, then the servants of God are
 "wont to be, who are more taken up with judging of them-
 "selves before the Lord, then of others. X

Now a word of that other passage, in Mr. *Baylies* speech,
 "touching my resolution to side with Ms. *Hutchinson*, and
 "to separate from all the Churches of *New-England*, as
 "legall Synagogues. [The truth is, I did intend to remove,
 but not to Separate; much lesse with Ms. *Hutchinson*, and
 least of all from all the Churches of *New-England*: and yet
 lesse then the least of all, to separate from them, as legall
 Synagogues.]

The occasion of my intent of removall was this.
 After the banishment of Ms. *Hutchinson* and sundry [53]
 others by occasion of her,¹ the generall court made an
 order, that none should be received to abide as Inhabitants
 in this Jurisdiction, unlesse they were allowed under the
 hand of the Governour, or two Assistants. The Assistants
 are our Magistrates. When this Law came to be put in
 use, I was informed that some godly passengers who hither
 arrived out of *England*, were refused to sit down amongst us,
 because (upon tryall) they held forth such an union with
 Christ by the Spirit giving Faith, as did precede the acting
 of Faith upon Christ²: and such an evidence of that union,
 by the favour of God shed abroad in their hearts by the
 Holy Ghost, as did precede the seeing (though not the
 being) of Sanctification. X

This

¹ Writing carelessly and from memory, Cotton here falls into an error as to the sequence of events. The Allen law of 1637 was passed at the May session of the General Court of that year;

Mrs. Hutchinson was tried and banished in the following November by another General Court chosen in October.

² Savage's *Winthrop*, Vol. I. p. * 224.

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X This took the deeper impressi^on upon me, because I saw by this meanes, wee should receive no more Members into our Church, but such as must professe themselves of a contrary judgment to what I beleev^ed to bee a Truth. Besides I was informed, that it was the judgment of some of place, in the Countrey, that such a Doctrin of Union, and evidencing of Union, as was held forth by mee, was the *Trojan Horse*, out of which all the erroneous Opinions and differences of the Countrey did issue forth.

X Hereupon, fearing this might in time breed a renewall of Paroxysmes, I called to mind the intent of my comming hither, which was, not to disturb, but to edify the Churches here: and therefore began to entertain thoughts rather of peaceable removall then of offensive continuance. At the same time there was brought to mee a writing, subscribed with about threescore hands to encourage me to removall, and offering their readinesse to remove with mee into some other part of this Countrey.]

I considered, If wee removed, it would be matter of much various construction amongst such as knew us, both in *Old-England*, and *New*; and I was loth to doe any thing, (especially of importance) but what I might give account of before God, and his people; I took advice therefore of some friends here, especially Mr. *Davenport*, and resolved, first to clear the certainty of the grounds of the information given mee of the rejections of those godly persons (of whom I had heard) for their judgments fake in those points. 2. To see if [54] my continuance here would certainly, or probably breed any further offensive agitation: And 3. If both those things were found clearly, then to take opportunity with
with

with common consent to remove to *Quinipyack*¹ whereto at that time a door was opened.

But when I came to enquire the certainty of these informations, in conference with some of our chief Magistrates and others, I found, though there had speach been about such points between themselves, and some passengers: yet their refusall of such passengers was not upon those points, but (as I remember) upon denyall of inherent righteousnesse in beleivers, and of any evidence of a good estate from thence, first or last. Withall, they declared to mee their minds touching such points of Union, or evidencing of Union, which I had taught, that they did not looke at them to bee of such Fundamentall concernment either to civill or Church-Peace, as needed to occasion any distance in heart, (much lesse in place) amongst godly brethren. Which when I heard from them, and found upon search, the mis-informations given mee, were but misprisions, I then layed down all thoughts of removall, and sat down satisfied in my aboad amongst them, and have so continued (by the help of God) to this day. By all this may appear the truth of what I said, that though I had thoughts of removall, yet not with Ms. *Hutchinson*, shee being gone to *Road Island*, but I intending *Quinipyack*. Much lesse had I any thoughts of Separation from all the Churches of *New-England*: for the Churches in *Quinipiack* are in *New-England*. And those Churches at the *Bay* (amongst whom I lived) It was far from my thoughts to separate from them, whom I ever truely honored

¹ Quillpeak, the Indian designation of the locality of New Haven. The events referred to in the text took place during the summer of 1637; New Haven

was settled by members of the church of which Rev. John Davenport became pastor, in the spring of 1638. *Supra*, p. 128, n.

X honored as the holy Spouſes of Jeſus Chriſt. Nor did I ever look at ſuch Points, as any juſt ground of Separation from any Church, (ſo much as in place, much leſſe in Communion :) no nor any juſt ground of removall from them, unleſſe a man were compelled to profeſſe contrary to his judgment. And leaſt of all durſt I turn my back upon ſuch Churches as Legall Synagogues, who do all of us hold Union with Chriſt, and evidencing of Union by the ſame Spirit, and the ſame Faith and the ſame holineſſe: though ſome may conceive the Union wrought in giving the habit, and others rather refer it to the act: and ſome may give the ſecond place to that, whereto others give the firſt.

It was therefore too much credulity in Mr. *Baylie*, [55] either to take up the former teſtimony from Ms. *Hutchinſon*, or this latter from Mr. *Williams*:¹ though if both of them had joyned in one and the ſame Teſtimony, (which they doe not) yet the Teſtimony of two excommunicate Perſons doth not make up *idoneum Teſtimonium* in Eccleſiaſtical cauſes.

"No? Saith Mr. *Baylie*, if I miſtake not the humor of the "man, (Mr. *Williams* he meaneth) he is very unwilling to "report a lie of his greateſt enemy.

I look not at my ſelf, as his greateſt, or leaſt, or any enemy
at

¹ Roger Williams. In his tract entitled *Mr. Cotton's Letter lately printed, Examined and Answered*; printed in London in 1644, Williams uſed the following language of Cotton: "Should he diſſent from the New Engliſh Churches, and joyne in worſhip with ſome other (as ſome few yeares ſince he was upon the point to doe, in a ſeparation from the Churches there as legall)

would he count it a mercy," &c. (p. 12). To this Cotton replied at length in his *Maſter John Cotton's answer to Maſter Roger Williams*; and he there (pp. 50, 51) ſtates the facts connected with his propoſed removal from Boſton in 1637 much as they are ſtated in the text. *Vide Publications of the Narragansett Club*, Vol. I. p. 337; Vol. II. pp. 80-84.

at all. I doe not know, that I did ever walke towards him either in the affection, or action of an enemy, notwithstanding the provoking injuries, and indignities hee hath put upon mee.

Nor would I call it any mans humor (as Mr. *Baylie* calleth it, Mr. *Williams* his humor) "to be very unwilling to report "a lye of his greatest enemy.

But this I say, Mr. *Williams* is too too credulous of surmises and reports brought to him, and too too confident in divulging of them. Which if Mr. *Baylie* know not, hee may (at his leisure, if hee think it worth the while) peruse the Reply, I have made to his answer of my Letter, as also my answer to his bloody Tenent.

But Mr. *Baylie* giveth the more credit to Mr. *Williams* his Testimony, because Mr. *Williams* saith in his examination of my Letter, How could I possibly (saith hee) bee "ignorant of their estate, when being from first to last in "fellowship with them, an Officer amongst them, had private "and publick agitation concerning their Estate with all, or "most of their Ministers?

The answer is very easie both to Mr. *Williams*, and Mr. *Baylie* too, that Mr. *Williams* speaketh of the times before his banishment: then indeed he had some fellowship with us, and might have had more, but that hee suspected all the *Statos conventus* of the Elders to bee unwarrantable, and such as might in time make way to a Presbyteriall government. But this Testimony, which hee giveth about my neerenesse to Separation from these Churches, was many yeares after his banishment from us, when hee was in no fellowship with us, sacred nor civill, nor came any whit neer

any private or publick agitation amongst us, nor could have any intelligence of our affaires, but by report and fame, which is *tam fidei pravique tenax, quam nuncia veri*, and is indeed in this point, most false.

[56] "But yet (saith Mr. *Baylie*) the truth of this horrible "fall (of Mr. *Cotton*) if you will not take it, neither "from the followers of Ms. *Hutchinson*, nor from the Testi- "mony of Mr. *Williams*: yet wee may not reject the witnessse "of Mr. *Winthrop*, and of Mr. *Wells* in their printed rela- "tions of the Schismes there.

"Both these, albeit, with all care and study, they endeavour "to save Mr. *Cottons* credit: yet they let the truth of Mr. "*Cottons* Seduction fall from their Pens in so clear termes, "as cannot bee avoided: yea so clear, as no Art will get Mr. "*Cotton* cleared.

Notwithstanding al this confident charge of Mr. *Baylie*, there will be no need at al of any Art to clear Mr. *Cotton*, from seduction into any such horrible fall, the naked truth (by the helpe of Christ) will clear both it self, and him. The Testimonies of Mr. *Winthrop*, and Mr. *Wells*, are all delivered (as it seemeth) in the short Story. There

"In the Preface, *page 7*. It is said, by this time, they had "to patronise them, some of the Magistrates, and some men "eminent for Religion, Parts and Wit.

Ans. 1. This were something, if there were no more men eminent for Religion, Parts and Wit, in the Countrey but my self, who professe no eminency in any of these in respect of many of my Brethren. But if I were eminent, the testimony concludeth not. Let not Art judge, whether the conclusion will follow from both the premises particular: but

but let common sense judge of such men, as then lived in the Countrey, whether there were not many eminent persons for Religion, Parts, and Wit, who did patronise them, though I had been out of the Countrey.

2. I willingly confesse, that I myself, though I did not patronise them, yet I did countenance them (in my measure) whilst they held forth (to my knowledge) no more then I have formerly delivered of my own Tenents: which yet I hope he will not again tax, as an horrible fall into Antinomianisme and Familism. When their Errors were brought to me, I bare publike witnessse against them, even before I was fully perswaded that those persons were guilty of them.

His next Testimony (which hee quoteth from *page 25.* of the short Story) the former part of it concerneth Mr. *Whelwright*, and not mee: though I must confesse I do not know how it can be collected from Mr. *Whelwrights* doctrine, unlesse it were by a forestalled misapprehension and mis-application of those hearers, who were leavened with corrupt Opinions. The latter part of the testimony, "That the former Governor never stirred out, but attended by the Serjants with Halberts or Carrabines, but the present Governor was neglected: I do not remember, that ceremony was any more then once neglected: and when I heard it, I bore witnessse against it. And they excused their former observance, by the eminency of the person. But sure I am, the present Governor (as he well deserveth all honor from this Peopole, so) he is seldome or never seen in publick, but in like sort attended with Halberts or Carrabines.

Next, he alledgeth a testimony from the Court, which (it
is

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is likely) was delivered by Mr. *Winthrop*, being then Governor, *page 35.* of the short Story: "They soon profited so well, as in a few moneths, they outwent their Teacher.

Answ. This testimony is so far from taxing mee of any horrible fall, that it clearly acquiteth mee from the fellowship thereof. For if they outwent their Teacher, as the Court said (and said truly:) then I went not along with them in their Tenents. And Teacher I was called, and their Teacher, as being called to that Office in that Church, whereof many of them were Members.

The next testimony (from *page 33.* of the story) expresseth, "That upon the countenance it took from some eminent Persons, her Opinions began to hold up their heads in Courts of Justice."

Answ. This might indeed argue, that some Magistrates leaned more or lesse to that way: but it reacheth not me, who am seldome present at any Courts, but when with other Elders I am sent for. And let it not be forgotten, what I related above, that many held with those Opinionists (as they were called) when they knew of no other opinions held forth by them, but what was publicly taught in our Church: but after they were discovered to overgoe not so much their Teachers, as the truth, and that so evidently, as could clearly be convinced by the testimony of two or three witnesses, they were soon forsaken by those, who esteemed better of them before.

His next testimony is from the story *page 32.* "It was a wonder, upon what a suddain, the whole Church of [58] *Boston* (some few excepted) were become her new Converts, and infected with her Opinions.

"And

" And Preface *page 7.* most of the Seducers lived in the " Church of *Boston.*

Answ. That most of the Church of *Boston* consented with *Ms. Hutchinson,* (whilst shee openly held forth no more, then what was publickly taught) is true; but nothing to prove *Mr. Cottons* horrible fall, for after shee fell into any horrible, or evident errors, it may clearly appear, the whole Church were not become her converts, by this undeniable evidence, that the whole body of the Church (except her own son) consented with one accord, to the publick censure of her, by admonition first, and excommunication after.

" But (saith *Mr. Baylie*) None of these erroneous persons " were ever called to account by the Presbytery of that " Church, till after the Assembly, though the Pastor of the " Church, *Mr. Wilson* was always exceeding zealous against " them.

Answ. 1. *Mr. Baylie* is mistaken, when he saith, *Mr. Wilson* was always exceeding zealous against them. For the whole Church will bear him witness, hee was a long time full of much forbearance towards them, and thought well of them, and bare witness to the wayes of free Grace in such manner, as testified his good will to them and the Truth. Afterwards in some private conference, which one or more of them had with him, and (our beloved Sister) his Wife, he discerned some more rottenesse in them, and their way, then he suspected before. And after that time indeed, he grew more zealous against them, but the occasion of the offence was private, and (for a good space) unknown both to mee and the Church.

2. But why they were not called to account by the Presbytery

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bytery of the Church, the reason was evident: because their grosse errors were not confirmed into us, by two or three witnesses. And this I can truly professe, That when the Elders of other Churches acquainted mee with some of their Errors, (even when the noise of them was spread far and near:) yet they acknowledged, the Erroneous persons were so cautious, that they would never vent any grosse Errors before two witnesses. And this I can further truly avouch, that my self dealt sadly and seriously with some chief leaders of them, both by word, and writing to recover them from the Error of their way: which though they would [59] argue for, yet they would ever excuse themselves from settling upon any such things. I dealt also with others (whom I began to suspect might be leavened by their Leaders) and earnestly charged them to beware what Tenents they received from them, lest by that means they might be corrupted themselves, and their Leaders hardened. But they would not be known to me, that they drunken in any such dregs, as afterwards appeared.

His next testimony is taken from Ms. *Hutchinsons* speech in the open Court. "Preferring my Ministry in holding forth free Grace, above some, or most of the other Elders. But of the invalidity of her testimony in these things I have spoken, (I suppose) enough above. An evil Spirit (which sometimes breatheth both in good and bad persons,) may give a glorious testimony to some servants of God, not so much to honour them, or their doctrine, as either to cover themselves under their shadow, or else (but that was not her aime) to bring them and their Doctrine into suspicion, and trouble, as the Spirit of the *Pythonesse* did to *Paul* and *Silas*,

Silas, Act. 16, 17, to 20. That speach of hers, I bore witnesse against it, as prejudiciall and injurious both to them and mee.

Another testimony hee alledgeth out of the Story, *Page* 50. " That all the Ministers consented in bearing some witnesse against Mr. *Whelewright*, except their Brother the Teacher of *Boston*.

Answ. The Story relateth those words, as the speach of the Elders; that they speak of me, as their Brother, to wit, the brother of the Elders, lest any should misconceive of their speach, as ranking me in a Brotherhood with erroneous persons.

That I did not consent with the rest of my Brethren (the Elders) in drawing the inference out of Mr. *Whelewrights* Sermon, which they (being required) presented to the Court, I had a twofold reason for it. 1. Because I was not present with them, when they searched Mr. *Whelewrights* Sermon, and gathered that inference from it.

2. Because I could not speake it of mine own knowledge, " That the Elders of the Country did walk in or teach such " a way of Salvation, and evidencing thereof, as Mr. *Whelewright* describedeth, and accounteth to bee a Covenant of " Works.

They knew what themselves taught in that point, better then I. The Elders might testifie what they [60] knew: I could not testifie what I knew not. But it seemeth any testimonies will serve turn, when such as these are thought unavoidable, to lay me under the guilt of an horrible fall.

Yet one more remaineth, from *page* 21. " That albeit the " Assembly

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" Assembly of the Churches had confuted and condemned
" most of these new opinions, and Mr. *Cotton* had in publick
" view consented with the rest: yet the leaders in those
" Erroneous wayes stood still to maintain their New Light.
" Mr. *Whelwright* also continued his Preaching, and Ms.
" *Hutchinson* her wonted meetings: and much offence was
" stil given by her, and others in going out from the Pastors
" Exercise.

Answ. 1. As the Assembly of the Churches confuted and condemned those Errors, so I will not say, That the motion of confuting them (as I remember) arose from my self. And my self also had an hand in confuting such of them, as the Elders committed to my hand, as themselves took severall likewise taskes, none of us confuted all. My consent to the confutation, I have expressed above, and in what sense. What I did in publick view (as the Story expresseth it) I spake before the Lord, and from the truth of my heart.

That notwithstanding this Act of the Assembly against the Errors, the leaders still stood to maintain their way, it was because the Assembly did not fasten these Errors upon any Persons either in our own, or other Churches. And what corrupt opinions were maintained by our Members, it was done in private, and not before such witnesses, as might reach to publick conviction.

Mr. *Whelwrights* continuance in his preaching, was 8. or 9. miles distance from us. And having been put into that place before by the Church, whilst the Farmers there belonged to our Church, (which by reason of the distance, wee soon after dismissed into a Church-estate amongst themselves) wee that were Elders could not (if wee would) discharge him
from

from that worke, without the consent of the Church. But though hee gave some offence in some passages at the Assembly, (which hee since upon further conference and consideration retracted :) yet neither the Church, nor my self (notwithstanding those unsafe expressions) did ever look at him either as an Antinomian or Familist. Many of us knew that hee had taken good paines against both, and in that very place, where hee was wont to preach; infomuch that one of his hearers (who since joyned to Mr. *Gortons* [61] society) openly contested against his doctrine as false and Antichristian. And when Mr. *Whelewright* was put out of this Countrey (though hee be since restored) yet if hee had cleaved to the Errors which Ms. *Hutchinsons* company fell into, he would never have refused their earnest invitation and call of him, to Minister unto them. They sent to him, and urged him much to come to them, to a far richer soyle, and richer company then where hee lived: yet hee constantly refused, and upon that very ground, because of the corruption of their judgments: "Professing often, " whilst they pleaded for the Covenant of Grace, they took " away the Grace of the Covenant.

Ms. *Hutchinsons* continuance of her weekly meetings we could not proceed to the suppression thereof, with consent of the Church, before wee received the conviction of her personall Errors, which shee still closely carried, till after her civill censure. And then shee declared her self more plainly, and witnesses arose more fully, and the Church proceeded against her accordingly.

The going of her self and others out of the Congregation when our Pastor began to Exercise, though many feared it was

was a turning their backs upon his Ministry: yet the most of them were women, and they pretended many excuses for their going out, which it was not easie to convince of falsehood in them, or of their contempt of him.

But in fine, when her Antinomian and Familistical Errors were held forth by her before sufficient witnesses, our Church (as I said before) proceeded without delay, first, to admonish her according to the rule, *Til.* 3. 10, 11. Afterwards when upon serious paines taken with her, Mr. *Davenport*, and my self (as we thought) had convinced her of her erroneous wayes in judgment and practice, so as that under her hand, shee presented a Recantation before the whole Church, (indeed before many Churches then assembled at *Boston*) yet withall, (after some passages of speech) "Professing that "shee never was of any other judgment, then what she now "held forth, so many witnesses forthwith rose up to convince "the contrary, that with common consent both of the Elders "and Brethren of our Church, shee was cast out of our "Communion.

And now that (by the help of Christ) I have [62] perused all the testimonies, which Mr. *Baylie* hath alledged to convince me of an horrible fall into Antinomianism, and Familism, I desire him in the fear of God to consider, whether any or all these testimonies severally or jointly, will amount to make good such grievous scandalls, as hee hath charged upon mee. Which if they neither will, nor can reach unto, let him remember his promise in his Epistle Dedicatory, "That in all which he hath said over "and above (just testimony) he will undertake to give ample "satisfaction, wherein so ever he hath given the least offence
to

"to any. Meane while the Lord lay not this sin to his charge.

SECT. 14. *Of Cottons humiliation upon his former fall, as is reported by Mr. Baylie.*

But yet let me adde a word more, to a word of Mr. *Baylies* in his entrance of this discourse of my Antinomianism, and Familism, which may else leave an impression upon the minds of some Reader, as if I had acknowledged this my dangerous fall, and had been much humbled for it.

"This other more dangerous fall (saith hee) as it hath
 "alredy much humbled his Spirit, and opened his eare to
 "instruction, and I trust will not leave working, till it have
 "brought him yet nearer to his Brethren: so to the worlds
 "end, it cannot but be a matter of fear and trembling to all,
 "who shall know it, and of abundant caution, to bee very
 "wary of receiving any singularity from his hand, without
 "due tryall.

Answ. 1. Suppose all this were true *in terminis*, as Mr. *Baylie* hath expressed it, yet this were no impeachment at all to the doctrine and practice of that (which hee calleth) our Independent Church way; nor is it any just ground of caution to bee wary of receiving my testimony to it. *Peters* dangerous and dreadful fall into the denyall of Christ, (though hee seemed to be a pillar) was no impeachment, but advancement to Christianity. And if my fall were so dangerous, walking in this Church-way, and stumbling so foully in it, the greater Grace and witness from heaven was upon his Churches in this way, who by the blessing of God were instruments of recovering me out of this fall, even by a
 consultatory

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consultatory conference in a Synod, which did not assume to themselves any power of Church-censures. Let mee be accounted to have fallen, and to have fallen (as Mr. [63] *Baylie* representeth it) horribly, so that the truth and wayes of Christ may stand and find free passage.

Neither is this fall of mine such a just ground of caution (as he would make it) unto any, to bee very wary of receiving my testimony to this Church way. For the way is no way of singularity from my hand, but that which the body of the rest of my Brethren, and of the Churches in this Country doe walk in with mee.

Answe. 2. But yet, let not Mr. *Baily* make further speech or use of my humiliation, then was performed, or intended by me. For God hath not given mee to this day (upon my best search) to discern any such dangerous fall into Antinomianisme, or Familisme, as either hath, or might much humble my spirit.

It is true, my spirit had much cause to be humbled, (and so through mercy it was) upon many just occasions at that time. As first, that so many Erroneous and Hereticall opinions should be broached in the Country, and carried on with such Arrogancy, and Cenforiousnesse, and guile of spirit.

Secondly, That the principall offenders in this kind were members of our own Church, and some of them such as had neer relation to my self.

Thirdly, that my self should be so sleepy and invigilant, as that these (not Tares onely, but Bryers) should be sowed in our Field, and my self not discern them, till fundry persons up and down the Countrey were leavened by them.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, that such as endeavoured the healing of these distempers, did seeme to me to be transported with more jealousies, and heates, and paroxysmes of spirit, then would well stand with brotherly love, or the rule of the Gospel.

The bitter fruits whereof doe remaine to this day, in the Letters sent over that year from hence to *England*. Whence also it came to passe finally, that in the course taken for the cleansing of Gods Field, it seemed to me, that some good Wheat was pluckt up with the Tares, some simple hearted honest men, and some truths of God, fared the worse for the resemblance which the tares bare to them.

Upon all which grounds, my self with our whole Church thought it needfull to set a day apart for publick humiliation before the Lord, wherein these and the like, both in Prayer and Preaching, were opened more at large before the Lord and his people.

But all this will not amount to make good Mr. [64] *Baylles* word, "That my dangerous fall into Antinomianisme and Familisme hath much humbled my Spirit.

Nor can I say (as he doth) that it hath opened mine eares to instruction. For I doe not know, that they have been shut to it, when I discerned the Spirit, and Word of truth breathing in it.

Nor can I say after him, "That the humbling of my spirit for those dangerous errors, will not leave working till it have brought me yet nearer to my brethren.

For though I blesse the Lord, who hath brought me nearer to my brethren, and them also nearer to me, which I trust will still grow whilst our selves grow (in all the duties of brotherly love, wherein we have much sweet and frequent intercourse

intercourse :) yet I doe not interpret this as the fruit of my spirits humiliation for my Antinomy, and Familisme: but as the fruit of our clearer apprehension, both of the cause and of the state of our differences, and of our joynt consent and concurrence in bearing witness against the common heresies, and errors of Antinomianisme, and Familisme, which disturbed us all.

But Mr. *Baily* as he began his discourse of my dangerous fall with relation of my humiliation for it: so hee shutteth it up, *pag.* 58, with a like close of my grieffe of mind, and confusion for it.

“ I have been informed (saith he) by a gracious Preacher “ who was present at the Synod in *New-England*, that all “ the Brethren there, being exceedingly scandalized with Mr. “ *Cottons* carriage, in Mistris *Hutchinsons* proceffe, did so “ farre discountenance, and so severely admonish him, that “ hee was thereby brought to the greatest shame, confusion “ and grieffe of mind, that ever in all his life he had endured.

Ans. 1. I conceive it is not allowable in Presbyteriall discipline, (sure I am, not in Congregationall) that an accusation shall be received against an Elder under one witness, though he gracious and a Preacher: especially when this gracious Preacher is namelesse, and his testimony hovereth in generalities, without instance in particular offences: as “ That all the Brethren were exceedingly scandalized with “ Mr. *Cottons* carriage in Mistris *Hutchinsons* proceffe, but not expressing what carriage, nor what proceffe, nor wherein they were scandalized.

[65] “ And that all the Brethren did so far discountenance “ him, and severely admonish him, as that he was “ thereby

"thereby brought to the greatest shame, and confusion, and grief of mind, that ever in all his life he endured. But no mention for what offence they did so severely admonish him, nor wherein they did so farre discountenance him.

Such words of infamy, and reproach may passe for Table talke, (which yet morall Philosophy would not approve :) but surely in orderly Church-Discipline, such dealing could not passe without just reproof, unlessse there were too much prejudice or partiality, the rule is plain and obvious, and not now the first time violated in the Disswasive, 2 *Tim.* 5. 19.

Ans^w. 2. I must (as justly I may) protest against that testimony, not onely as violating the rule of Love, but of Truth also. For,

1. It is untrue, that all the Brethren were scandalized with my carriage, much lesse exceedingly scandalized at the Synod, or in any proceffe about Ms. *Hutchinson*. There were sundry godly brethren otherwise minded, and otherwise affected.

2. It is untrue also, that such as were scandalized, did so severely admonish me, or discountenance me; for I can neither call to mind any such deep discountenance, nor any such severe admonition of Brethren, and yet I had reason to know it, and to remember it well, as well as any Brother at the Synod: the matter so neerly concerning my self, and more neerly and deeply, then any man else.

3. It is most untrue, that I was so far discountenanced, "and so severely admonished, as that I was brought to the "greatest shame, confusion and grief of mind, that ever in "all my life I had endured.

I should have little comfort in my own spirit, to look

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either God or man in the face, "if the discountenance or "admonition of men (especially for such carriage) were the "greatest shame, and confusion, and grief of mind, that ever "in all my life I had endured. The rebukes of God upon the soule for sin will put a man to far greater shame, and confusion and grief of mind, then any discountenance, or admonition from Brethren, (especially for such offences) *Psal.* 76. 7. But whatsoever discountenance, or dis-respect I met withal, from one hand or other, till the true state of my judgment, and carriage was clearly manifested, I have [66] long agoe left with the Lord. But I conceive I have met with more hard measure in Letters to *England*, and in ungrounded reports there, then ever I found from the admonition, or discountenance of any brethren here.

[82] SECT. 18. *Of the third shamefull absurdity said to bee found in our way of Independency.*

Come wee now to consider of the third shamefull Absurdity, "which Mr. *Baylie* maketh the fruit of our Independency, breaking forth in the practises and profession of the "most, who have been admitted as very fit, if not the fittest "Members of our Churches.

And these evill fruits hee brancheth out into five sorts :

" 1. (Saith he) in the vilenesse of their Errors.

" 2. In the multitude of the erring persons.

" 3. In the hypocrisie joyned with their Errors.

" 4. In malice against their Neighbors, and con-
[83] tempt of their superiors, Magistrates and Ministers for
opposition to their evill way.

" 5.

"5. In their singular obstinacy, stiffly sticking unto their errors, &c.

Ans. 1. Suppose all this to be true: yet this is so far from discrediting the way of Independency, or arguing the Tree to be bad by these bad fruits, that it doth rather justify the way to be of God, which so easily hath either healed, or removed, so many, so vile, so general, so subtle, so headstrong corruptions, and them that maintained them. *Non seclus, non scelerum varietas aut atrocitas, is dedecus Politicæ, sed scelerum impunitas.* The Church of *Ephesus* was not blamed by Christ, because false Apostles and Nicolaitans were found amongst them: but commended, because she could not bear them, *Rev. 2. 2. 6.* Nor is *Thyatira* blamed, that *Jesabell* was found amongst them, but that they suffered her, *Rev. 2. 20.* What if so many, so hideous vile Errors were found in our Churches? What if the number of erring persons were (as he speaketh) incredible? "Multitudes of men and women everywhere infected? almost "no Society, nor Family in the Land free from the pest? "*Boston* (which he is pleased to style, the best and most famous of our Churches) so far corrupted, that few were "untainted? What if they accounted the late Governour "their true friend, and thought no less of Mr. *Cotton*, and "Mr. *Whelcwright* whom they adored? What if they had "drawn to their sides not onely multitudes of the people, "but the ablest men for parts, in all Trades, especially the "Souldiers? What if all these evils were carryed forth "with presumptuous contumacy against godly Magistrates, "and the Orthodox Ministers? yea, what if to all the rest, "they added obstinacy against all wholesome means of redresse and remedy?

Is it not therefore the more evident Demonstration of the gracious presence, and mighty power of God, in the Discipline of our Churches, that did so effectually, so speedily, so safely, so easily, purge out all this Leaven, either out of the hearts of the people, out of their Families, and Churches, or else out of the Country?

Whence the argument seemeth to mee to arise unavoidably.

Those evils, which Independency doth either heal, or remove, they are not the fruits of Independency.

But all these grievous and dangerous evils, Independency did either heal or remove.

[84] Therefore these grievous and dangerous evils were not the fruits of Independency.

Again, That government, which by the blessing of Christ, doth safely, speedily, and effectually purge out such grievous and dangerous evils, as threaten the ruine of Church and State, that government is safely allowed, and justly and wisely established in any civill State.

But Independency by the blessing of Christ doth speedily, safely, and effectually purge out such grievous and dangerous evils, as threaten the ruine of Church and State: therefore Independency is safely allowed, and justly, and wisely established in any civill State.

Ob. 1. But this purging and healing of these grievous and dangerous evils was not the fruit of their Independent-Church-Government, but of their civill Government. "We have oft marvelled, that the Eldership of *Boston* did never so much, as call Ms. *Hutchinson* before them, to be rebuked for any of her errors, though their generall Assembly had confuted

"confuted them, and condemned them: yet still shee was
 "permitted to goe on, till the zeal of the new Governour,
 "and the generall Court did condemne her to perpetuall
 "banishment. Then, and not till then, so far as wee can
 "perceive by the story, did the Church of *Boston* bring a
 "processe against her. And when the processe was brought
 "to an end, Mr. *Cotton* would by no meanes put it in execu-
 "tion; that burden was layed upon the back of Mr. *Wilson*
 "his Colleague, how ever not the fittest Instrument, being
 "the person to whom Ms. *Hutchinson* had professed greatest
 "opposition. And when the sentence was pronounced
 "against her, they tell us, that the great cause of it was none
 "of her Errors or Heresies, but her other practises, specially
 "her grosse lying.

Answ. 1. Whatever assistance the civill Government gave
 to the purging and healing of these evils, it was the fruit
 of Independent Church Government. For whether the
 Neighbour Churches suspected our Church of *Boston* might
 bee partiall, and indulgent to these erroneous persons: or
 whether they saw, we wanted sufficient witnesses upon which
 wee might proceed against them in a Church way, they took
 a right course (according to the principles of the Independ-
 ent Government) to gather into a Synod with the
 consent of the civill Magistrates: and in the Synod to [85]
 agitate, convince and condemne the Errors, and the
 offensive carriages then stirring. Whereat the Magistrates
 being present, they saw just cause to proceed against the
 chief of those whom they conceived to have bred any civill
 disturbance: and the Churches saw cause to proceede against
 their Members, whom they found to bee broachers or main-
 tainers of such heresies.

Answ.

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Anfw. 2 It hath been declared above, why the Eldership "of *Boston* did not call *Ms. Hutchinson* before them to "rebuke her for her Errors, or to restrain her from going "on, though the generall Assembly had confuted and con-"demned her Errors and course.

For though the Errors were condemned, (and by the Elders of *Boston*, as well as others :) yet the errors were not fastened personally upon her: nor had we any two witnesses, that would affirm it to us, that shee did broach or maintain such errors or heresies, till after her sentence unto banishment by the generall Court; And then indeed, as she was more bold and open in declaring her judgment before many witnesses: so the Elders of the Church of *Boston* called her to account before the Church, and convinced her of her Errors, and with the consent of the Church, layed her, and one or two more of her abettors under the censure of an admonition even for those corrupt opinions, which were charged upon her, and proved against her.

"*Ob. 1.* Yea but *Mr. Cotton* would by no means put the "censure in execution upon her, that burden must be layed "upon the back of *Mr. Wilson, &c.*

Anfw. The censure of admonition, because it was for matter of Erroneous doctrine, it was thought meet to be dispensed and administered by *Mr. Cotton*, who was their Teacher: which also (by the help of Christ) hee did performe. setting before her both the corrupt causes of her errors, and the bitter fruits of them: and charging her solemnly before the Lord, and his Angells, and Churches then assembled, to return from the Error of her way.

Afterwards, when upon further serious debate and conference

ference with her by Mr. *Davenport*, and my selfe, shee was convinced of all her errors in particular, shee being called againe before the Church, did openly recant every error and heresie, and professed her repentance for every miscarriage against Magistrates and Elders: which [86] farre exceeded the expectation of the whole Congregation, which then consisted of many Churches, and strangers. But when shee had done, shee added withall, "that she had "never been of other judgement, howsoever her expressions "might seem to vary. This sounded so harshly, and falsely in the eares of many witnesses, that many rose up to convince her of her falshood and lying, in so saying. Which when shee did not hearken to, shee was esteemed, by the judgement of the Elders, and our whole Church, to be justly subject to excommunication. Which though I did not think meet to bee dispensed by my self (because the offence was not in matter of Doctrin, but of practise, which more properly belonged to the Pastours Office, or ruling Elders:) yet I declared to the whole Congregation the righteoufnesse of the censure, and satisfyed the Scruples of some Brethren, who doubted of it. But yet if the Church, or other Elders had put that taske upon me, I should no more have refused the dispensing of the censure of excommunication upon her, then I did before of admonition. Neither was her opposition against Mr. *Wilson* any just reason of exempting him from that duty. For shee saw, wee all with one accord, concurred in that sentence: it was no partiall act of his, but the common vote both of the Presbytery, and Fraternity. And what if she had professed her opposition against us all? had that been a just excuse to exempt any of us from performing

forming a service due to God, and the Church, yea and to herself also?

Object. 2. "But when the sentence was propounded against her, they tell us, the great cause of it was none of her Errours, and Heresies, but for other practises, especially her grosse lying.

Answer. Wee could not justly pronounce the cause of her sentence to be her errors and heresies, which she had openly recanted, and given her recantation under her handwriting. Neither did any of us say, That such Heresies did not deserve the censure of excommunication, if she had continued obstinate in them: but wee thought it needfull to follow the rule of the Apostle, not to reject an Heretick till after once or twice admonition, *Tit.* 3. 10. under which if the Heretick relent, the Church proceeding stayeth, unlesse some other offence set it forward, as it did in her case.

[87] SECT. 19. *Tending to relisie some mistakes of Mr. Baylie in relating the former absurdities.*

But before I leave this close of Mr. *Baylies* third Chapter, touching the evill fruits of Independency, let mee advertise him of some few further mistakes in his Narration of the same.

First, when he reckoneth in the front of vile errours, the inhabitation of the person of the Spirit in all the godly, let him weigh what hath been said above, touching that point. And if hee cleare it to be an error, I willingly shall acknowledge, hee shall teach me that, which I yet know not. I professe my self willing to learn of a meaner man, then Mr. *Baylie*.

" Secondly,

"Secondly, when he maketh the number of the erring persons incredible, almost no society, no family free from that pest, *Boston* it self so farre infected, that few there were untainted: let him be pleased to consider, whether his testimony will make it good. His testimonies (recited in his Markes *FF. GG.*) speak to the utmost of truth, but not so much as he avoucheth. The short Story in Preface, *pag. 7.* saith indeed, "They had some of all sorts and qualities in all places to patronize and defend them: and almost in every family some were ready to defend them as the Apple of their own eye.

But this will not make it good, that almost in every family some were infected with the pest of their errours. It is one thing to speak in the defence of erroneous persons, another to speak in defence of errours. Multitudes there were, that thought well of the persons, who knew nothing of their errours, but heard onely of their unbottoming sandy foundations of a spirituall estate, which hath been mentioned above, Chap. 3.

Which may also truly be said even of *Boston* likewise. The body of the Church, the greatest part of them were like those members of the Church in *Thyatira*, of whom it is said (*Rev. 2. 24*) They knew not the depths of Satan. The truth whereof may evidently appear by this, That when those errors of *Mistress Hutchinson* were publickly charged upon her before the Church, and proved by sufficient witnesses, the whole body of the Church, and all the Brethren with one accord (save onely her sonne) [88] consented readily to her censure: which they would not have done, if the whole Church of *Boston* (some excepted)

"had

"had become her converts, and were infected with her
"opinions.

"Thirdly, when hee saith, they adored some of their Min-
"isters, and instanceth in Mr. *Cotton*, and Mr. *Whelewright*.

Adoration is too vast an Hyperbole to be made good by
just testimonies. All hyperbolically praises, though they may
farre exceed the bounds of truth in comparisons of men with
men; yet they will not reach adoration, which is divine
worship. Neither will it bee made good, That they magni-
fied either Mr. *Whelewright*, or me, for the defence of their
errors. Yea they soon forooke Mr. *Whelewright* (as well
as he them) when they saw his judgement (as well as mine)
against Antinomianisme, and Familisme.

Fourthly, when he saith, "Mistress *Hutchinson*, and the late
"Governour, kept almost every day, so private and long dis-
"course with Mr. *Cotton*, that made them conclude all was
"their own.

I must needs professe, that cannot be made good by any
witness of truth, Mistress *Hutchinson* seldome resorted to
mee: and when she did, she did seldome or never enter into
any private speech between the former Governour and my
self. And when she did come to me, it was seldome or
never (that I can tell of) that she tarried long. I rather think,
she was loath to resort much to me, or, to conferre long with
me, lest she might seeme to learne somewhat from me. And
withall I know (by good proof) she was very carefull to
prevent any jealousie in mee, that shee should harbour any
private opinions, differing from the course of my publick
Ministry. "Which she could not well have avoyded, if she
"had kept almost every day so private and long discourse
with me.

But

But what Testimony, or proof doth Mr. *Baylie* alledge for this our private and long conference, almost every day? His marke (*YY*) referreth us to the short story, where it is said, "They made full account the day had been theirs.

But did they make this account upon occasion of these our private, and long, and frequent conferences every day? not a syllable of prooffe for this point. It is not righteous dealing, large charges, and narrow proofs.

Fourthly, that which Mr. *Baylie* further relateth from the testimony of Mr. *Williams*, is as farre from [89] truth, as the former.

"Mr. *Williams* (saith Mr. *Baylie*) told me, that he was "employed to buy from the Savages, for their late Governour, and Mr. *Cotton*, with their Followers, a portion of "Land without the *English* Plantation whither they might "retire and live according to their mind, exempt from the "jurisdiction of all others, whether Civill or Ecclesiastick, "Mr. *Williams* was in so great friendship with the late Governour, when he told me so much, that I beleieve he would "have been loth to have spoken an untruth of him.

Answ. But this I dare be bold to say, if Mr. *Williams* told Mr. *Baylie* so much, that he was employed by me to buy any Land from the Savages, for mee and my followers (as he calls them) he spake an untruth of me, whatsoever he did of the Governour. Yet because I would not speake nor thinke worfe of Mr. of *Williams* then necessitie constrayneth, I cannot say but that he might speak as he thought, and as he was told; for it may well bee, that such as abused the Governours name to him for such an end, might also more boldly abuse mine. But I must professe, I neither wrote,

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nor spake, nor sent to Mr. *Williams* for any such errand. If ever I had removed, I intended *Quinipyack*; and not *Aquethnick*. And I can hardly beleve the Governour would send to him for any such end, who I suppose never thought it likely, that himself should tarry longer in the Countrey, then he tarried in the *Bay*.

Fiftly, when Mr. *Baylie* objecteth the prophaneness of these erroneous persons, and justifieth it by the testimonies of Mr. *Weld* and my self, "And aggravateth the same by "their profession of Piety (so farre, that they avow their "standing loose from all reformed Churches as uncleane, be- "cause of their mixture with the prophane Multitude.)

Let him be pleased to consider; First, what was said above, *Non scelus, sed sceleris impunitas*, is the guilt of a society, whether civill or sacred.

Secondly, what Mr. *Weld* meant by fouler finnes then pride, or lying, found in those persons, I cannot guesse: nor have I heard of them: unlesse hee meant the adultery of one, who upon his own confession was cast out of the Church for that crime.

As for the testimony of mine, which hee quoteth from [90] some words in the vials, wherein the finnes of the people were reprov'd, let him not improve them further then they will bear. Such reproofs doe not alwayes argue finnes of our Church members: or if they did, yet not, that those finnes are openly known: or if openly known, yet not, that they were tolerat'd. And yet all these must concurre, or else the vices found amongst professors, will not argue the viciousnesse either of their doctrine or worship, or Church Government.

Luther

Luther complaineth, in *Postill. super Evangel. Dom. adventus, Sunt nunc homines magis vindictæ cupidi, magis avari, magis ab omni misericordiâ remoti, magis immodesti, & indisciplinati, multoque deteriores, quam fuerunt sub papatu.* And *Chrysostome*, (in opere imperfect. in Matth. Hom. 49) speaketh of Christians as becomming like the Hereticks, or Pagans, or worse.

Yet I suppose he that should improve the words either of *Chrysostome*, to argue the discipline of Christians, worse then that of the Pagans: or of *Luther*, to argue the discipline of Protestants to be worse then that of Papiſts, he shall doubtlesse stretch their words upon the Rack, farre beyond the scope of their meaning. The words I spake, were in comparison between the godly Professors in *England*, and ours here, and at such a time, when Episcopall persecution made them draw the nearer to God, and to walke the more circumſpectly before men. But Sheepe set at libertie from the feare of Wolves, will straggle further from their Shepheard, then when they resent danger.

Thirdly, it is too grosse and heavy an aggravation, which *Mr. Baylie* putteth upon us, if he meane it of us, "That our profession of pietie is so faire that wee stand aloofe from all reformed Churches as uncleane, because of their mixture with the prophane multitude."

For it is more then he can prove, or we, doe professe. Though in the Bishops time, we did not forthwith receive all the members of the Church of *England* into the fellowship of our Churches: yet (for ought I know) wee are not likely to stand aloofe from Presbyteriall Churches faithfully administred, nor from the testimony which they shall give of their

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their members, that may have occasion to Traffick hither. And the like doe I conceive of other reformed Churches in other Nations of Christendome. Presbyterian Churches faithfully administred, are not wont to admit a mixt prophane multitude to the Lords Table.

[91] Sixtly, let me take off one instance more, which Mr. Baylie giveth of one abomination, which to him seemeth strange. "That the Midwives to our most zealous women, should not onely have familiarity with the Devill, but also in that service commit devillish Malefices: which so farre as they tell us, were not onely past over without punishment, but never so much as enquired after.

Ans^w. This accusation is indeed of some weight, because it is of a grievous, and devillish crime, and it tolerated. But how doth it appeare to him, that it was tolerated? "not onely past over without punishment, but never so much as enquired after?

Why, saith he, so farre as they tell us. So farre as they tell us? Is the silence of a short story of this or that fact, a good argument, *a non dici, ad non esse?* yea it is a good argument on the contrary, that there was inquiry made after that Midwife, and diligent search into her, or else it would have been recorded, as some clofe conveyance of the erroneous party. The truth is, the woman, though she offered her self to the Elders of our Church, yet was not received, upon discovery of some unsound principles in her judgement. Being then no member, the Church had no power to deale with her. But when suspition grew of her familiarity with the Devill, especially upon that occasion, which the short story relateth,¹ shee was convented before the Magistrates,
and

¹ *Supra*, p. 188.

and diligently examined about that, and other evils. But though no familiarity with the Devill could be proved against her; yet because of some other offences in dealing with young women, she was forbidden to stay in the Country.¹

¹ Winthrop says (Vol. I. p. *263), "The midwife, presently after this discovery, went out of the jurisdiction." The records of the General Court (*Col. Rec.* Vol. I. p. 224) indicate that "Jane

Hawkins, the wife of Richard Hawkins, had liberty till the beginning of the third month, called May, and the Magistrates (if she did not depart before) to dispose of her."





Robert Keayne of Boston in New England his Book 1639.¹

Pastor. These 3 Brethren that was sent by the church to those wandring sheepe at the Iland² beinge now returned, accordinge

¹ Captain Robert Keayne came to New England from London in 1635; he died in 1656. A man of substance and standing, he was one of the founders, and the first commander, of the artillery company, having been "trained up in military discipline from his younger years," and is chiefly remembered because of his lawsuit with the widow Sherman in regard to the ownership of "a stray sow" (*Palsrey*, Vol. I. p. 618), which led to the division of the American legislative body into double chambers.

Welde, in his Preface to the *Short Story* (*supra*, p. 89), refers at some length to the delegation from the Boston church sent to Aquidneck early in 1640 to "convince and reduce" Mrs. Hutchinson. Those who went on this mission were three in number, Captain Edward Gibbons, Mr. William Hibbins, and

Mr. John Oliver. Robert Keayne was in the custom of making elaborate notes of the sermons preached by Cotton and Wilson, and also of what took place at certain church meetings. These notes were contained in at least three books, one of which is now in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, a second in that of the Rhode Island Historical Society (*Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.* Series II. Vol. V. p. 435), while a third was in existence in 1771, but has since disappeared (*Ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 160; *supra*, p. 285, n). The report in the text was taken from the first mentioned of these three books.

Of the three members of the delegation who went to Rhode Island, Edward Gibbons is most frequently mentioned in the early Massachusetts history. The time when he came to New England is not known; but he is reputed to have been

² Aquidneck, or Newport, whither Mrs. Hutchinson and those banished in the spring of 1638 had then removed. They had been settled there nearly two

years at the time the "brethren" of the Boston church visited them as recorded in the text.

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accordinge to the custome of the churches & servants of god in the scripture when thay did returne, thay gave an account to the church of gods dealinge with them & the passages of his providences & how god carried them a Longe, it is expected of the church that some one of you, or all of you one after another, should declare the same, that the church may have matter to prayse god with you.

Brother Hibbens. we thinke it our dutie to give an account to the church of gods dealinge with us in our jorney owt & in & of the successe of our buffines when we came to our jornies end, at the Iland. The second day of the weeke, we reached the first night to mownt wolliston, whcar we were refreshed at our Brother Savidges House¹ wherby we were comfortably

been one of the company with Thomas Morton at Mount Wollaston in 1628. He died at Boston in December, 1654. The most detailed account of his checkered and venturefome career is in *Three Epistles*, Vol. I. pp. 354-360. William Hibbins was a merchant of Boston. He came to New England probably in 1634, was prominent in town and colony affairs, and died in July, 1654 (Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary*, Vol. II. p. 409). John Oliver is surmised by Savage to have been the "younger brother or, perhaps, nephew" of Elder Thomas Oliver (*Supra*, p. 286). He came to New England in 1632, and in November, 1637, was among those disarmed as adherents of Wheelwright. He subsequently removed from Boston to Newbury, and died in 1642.

The members of the delegation left Boston the ^{24th}/₂₄ of ^{February}/_{March}, and reached Newport on the ^{5th}/_{10th} of ^{February}/_{March}. Returning, they made their report, as recorded

by Keayne in his note-book, in the Boston meeting-house on March ^{24th}/_{24th} 1640, after Mr. Cotton had ended his discourse. The report has been printed by Dr. Ellis in his *Life of Anne Hutchinson* (pp. 329-337), and also by A. B. Ellis in his *History of the First Church of Boston* (pp. 65-68). In both cases the spelling, etc., has been modernized and the text punctuated; and the narrative, in so far, rendered more intelligible.

¹ In the earliest days of the settlement, as now, there were two routes from Boston to Aquidneck, or Newport, — the easterly route, by way of Braintree, leaving the Blue Hills on the right, that subsequently followed by the Old Colony and Fall River railroad line; and the westerly route up the valley of the Neponset, leaving the Blue Hills on the left, the natural water line subsequently taken by the Boston & Providence Railroad Co. When Mrs. Hutchinson

comfortably fitted for our jorney, the next day, in wch, by the good mercy of god, & the helpe of yor prayers, god did accompany us with feasonable weather, & in our jorney the first observable providence of god that presented itselfe to our vew & especially to my owne observation, wch was in providinge for me a comfortable Lodginge, that second Night, wch was the thinge I most feared becas I never was used to lye with out a Bead, & there was one that mett us in the way, that came from Cohannet,¹ who had a Howse to him selfe & he of his owne accord, did give us Leave to Lodg & abide in his Howse that night, where myselfe especially, & all of us had comfortable Lodginge for that night, wch was a greate refreshinge to us & a deliverance from my fear.

The

Hutchinson started to go into exile, on what is now the 7th of April, 1638, she took the easterly route, going from Boston by water to her husband's house at "the Mount." This house stood in the Hutchinson grant somewhere in the vicinity of the present Wollaston Heights station in Quincy (*Three Episodes*, Vol. II. p. 536, n.). From thence she subsequently went to Newport. The church delegates of 1640 took the same route.

Thomas Savage, who married Mrs. Hutchinson's daughter Faith, probably in 1637, has already been referred to (*Supra*, p. 39). He came to New England in April, 1635, and was admitted to the Boston church the following January. He was among the disarmed of November, 1637, and in the spring of 1638 accompanied the exiles to Aquidneck, but seems soon to have returned to Boston, where he afterwards lived, holding important civil and military positions, and

died in February, 1682. His wife Faith died in February, 1652.

The site of Thomas Savage's house at "the Mount" cannot be fixed. It may have been the Hutchinson house at what is now Wollaston Heights, then temporarily held by him, or it may have stood on land he is supposed to have owned in what is now Braintree, near where Quincy Avenue, so called, crosses the marshes to Braintree Neck, or on Commercial Street, not far from the site of the old Braintree Iron Works of 1644. In going from Braintree to Aquidneck the party probably followed a trail considerably to the eastward of that gone over five years later by John Winthrop, Jr., and described in his itinerary, printed in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society Series II. Vol. VIII. pp. 11, 12.*

¹ Taunton.

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X The next providence of god that fell out in our jorney, was some manifestations of gods hand agaynst us, for beinge the 4th day to passe over a River¹ in a canew, in wch was 8 of us our canew did hange upon a tree, to very great daynger, the water runinge swiftly away, now my Ignorance was Such that I feared no daynger, though those wch had more skill sawe we were in imminent daynger, here our god delivered us.

But now, we cominge safe over the water it pleased god to exercife us much in the Losse of our Brother Oliver, whose Company we mist & did not perceave it, he fallinge unto mr. Luttalls company that was a goinge that way to the Iland, then they Lost thear way. & as our hartes was full of fear & care for our Brother, soe was his of us & the fear was incresed one both sides, becaus thear fell a greate snowe, & very hard weather upon it, & it was to our greate reioysinge when we met one another agayne in helth & safetie accordinge to the good hand of our god, that was upon us in our jorney, & they had bin exposed to much daynger in that could season, for want of a fiar, & all meanes to make it, had not the Lord beyond expectation provided for them, to bring forth a little powder through the shott of the peece, now the 5th day we were to goe over another River,² where we were in greate daynger, our Canew fallinge upon a Rocke, wch had not some of our Brethren more skilfull staped out of the Rocke & put of the canew our daynger had bin very greate, but god brought us safe at Last one the 6th day viz 28 day of the 12th month, to our greate reioysinge.

Brother

¹ Probably the Taunton River.

² It is impossible to locate this river. Not improbably, it being the fifth day

of the journey, the party had reached Tiverton, and struck the rock in crossing over to Aquidneck.

Brother Oliver. Now for the succes of our jorny to our Brethren at the Iland, we acquaynted them with our purpose in Cominge, & desired that they would procure us a meetinge that daye, but for reasons in thear owne brest, & because of the snowe they did not thinke meete then to give us a meetinge but the next day they promised & did give us a meetinge, mr Ashpinwall¹ our Brother Boston,¹ Brother Sanfoard² & others & we delivered our message & the churches Letter, wch they Read & gave us satisfactory Answers. the next day we went to portsmouth where beinge entertayned at our Brother Cogshalls³ Howfe we desired them to procure us a meetinge, to deliver our message & the churches Letter, But when we expected a meetinge mr Cogshall sent us word that by reson of a Civell meetinge that was befor apoynted; But for a meetinge they did not know what power one church had over another church, & thay denyed our comission & refused to Let our Letter be read, & they Confeave one church hath not power over the members of another church, & doe not thinke they are tide to us by our covenant & soe were we fayne to take all thair Answers by goinge to thear severall Howses, mr Hutchison tould us he was more nearly tied to his wife than to the church; he thought her to be a dear ft & servant of god.

We came then to mrs Hutchison & tould her that we had a message to doe to her from the Lord & from our church.

She

¹ *Supra*, pp. 151, 157.

² John Sanford came to New England in 1631, was a member of the Boston church, and one of those disarmed in November, 1637, and went

with the other exiles to Aquidneck in 1638. He subsequently lived at Portsmouth, R. I.

³ *Supra*, p. 137.

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She Answered, There are Lords many & gods many, but I acknowledge but one Lord, which Lord doe you meane

We Answered, we came in the Name but of one Lord, & that is god. then sayth she, soe far we agree & where we doe agree, Let it be set downe Then we tould her we had a message to her from the church of ch in Boston She replied, she knew no church but one we tould her: in scripture the Ho. Ghost calls them churches She sayd Ch. had but one Spouse we tould her he had in some sort as many spouses as sts; but for our church she would not acknowledge it any church of Ch.

Mr. Cotton Time beinge farr spent it will not be seasonable to speake much, we blesse god with our Brethren for thear protection in thear jorny, assunder & together & we finde thay have faythfully & wisely discharged the trust & care put upon them

For the Answers of our Brethren at the Iland thay are divers, as for those at Portsmouth that thay would not reafeve thear message & comission, except thay would present it to thear church wch had bin to have acknowledged them a Lawfull church, wch thay had no comission to doe, now these doe wholly refuse to hear the church or to hold any submission or subiection to the church: I would not expect any Anser now but that the church consider of it till the next day now, Consider

1 whether this be not a transgression of that Rule in math 18 if thay will not hear you tell the church & soe fall under the sensure of the church

2 Thay were in covenant with us as a wife to the Husband (1 Cor 7. 15) but like a Harlot she welbe gone for all her

her covenant, now if thay will goe whether we be not discharged of our Covenant with them & soe cut them of as no members, we shall confider with elders of other churches what is best to be done in such cases

Others doe not refuse to hear the church but Anser as farr as thay can goe, only some scruple the covenant, & others other things but doe not reiect the church: but doe honor & esteeme of us as churches of Ch now confider whether, it is not meete that we should first wright to them & Labor to satisfi them & to take of thear growndes & see if thay may be redused befor we goe to further proseedinges with them. & I would knowe how farr the wives doe consent or dissent from thear Husbands or whether thay be as resolut & obstinatle peremptory as thay Thear is another sort & that was of such as are excommunicate, now we have gone as far with them as I thinke we can goe except thay did showe some pertenacy & obstenacy agaynst ch Je & then the greate censure of anathama marinatha that is for mrs Huchison But such as start aside from church censure & Rules out of Ignorance, another corse is to be taken with them to reduse them agayne if we can; as mrs Harding¹ & mrs dyar,² who acknowledged the churches & desiar Communion with us still And for mr Ashpinwall, he now beinge satisfied of the Righteous & just proseedings of the church in castinge out some of our members & soe refuseth to have any communion with them in the thinges of god

I pray confider of these thinges agaynst the next Lords day

¹ Phillippa, wife of Robert Harding, came with her husband, though they were not then married, to New England in 1631, and were members of the Boston

church. They moved to Rhode Island in 1638.

² *Supra*, p. 156, note 3.

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X day, accordinge to the distributions of the qualitie & nature of thear offenses, as those that are necessarily tied thear for a home as children to thear parents & wives to Husbands, and others that stand out of obstinacy

I see the diuel goes abowt to harden the harts of Brethren agaynst church censure & foe to dispise all church proseedings & therupon quest church covenant to shake all churches & to quest it alltogether; or some parts of it, & how fare it bindes, & whether it be a part of the covenant of grace or no, wch I hope wilbe more & more cleared up & manifested.

[Two weeks intervned before the matter was again submitted to the church. On the ^{20th}_{9th} of ^{March}_{April}, after the Teacher, Cotton, had concluded his discourse, Mr. Wilson made the following statement to the congregation:]

Pastor Brethren you know the Bussines of the Iland hath bin a Longe time propounded, & taken by the church into Consideration & now we should drawe to some Issue & determination you know the Cafes of them thear doe much differ, some are under admonition & some under excommunication: & some have given satisfaction in part to the church & doe hould themselves still as members of the church & doe yet harken to us & seeke to give satisfaction & others thear be that doe renounce the power of the church & doe refuse to hear the church as mr Coddington mr Dyar & mr Cogshall, the 2 first have been questioned in the church & delt with & are under Admonition & have bine soe longe, yet this act of the church hath bin soe farr from doinge them any good, that thay are rather growen worfe
under

under the same, for mr Coddington beinge delt withall about hearinge of excommunicate persons prophecy, he was sensible of an evell in it, & sayd he had not before soe well considerd of it, yet since he hath not only hearde such by accident as befor, But hath himselfe & our Brother diar & mr Cogshall have gathered themselves into church fellowship, not regardinge the Covenant that they have made with this church, neyther have taken our advise & consent herin, neyther have they regarded it, but they have joyned themselves in fellowship with some that are excommunicated wherby they come to have a costant fellowship with them, & that in a church way, & when we sent the messengers of the church to them to admonish them & treat with them about such offences, they wear soe farr from expressing any sorrow or givinge any satisfaction that thay did altogether refuse to hear the church & in this case the Rule of ch is playne we know not how otherwise to proseed with such than by cuttinge them of from us: they that will not hear the church, Let them be to you as a Heathen & a Publicane; yet because we know not how far god may worke relentinge in any of thear hartes, since the churches messengers came from them, it is thought meete to forbare our proseedinge yet a little Longer, agaynst them & patiently to wayte a while to see if yet thay will indeavor to give satisfaction, if not we shall take a seasonable time to proceed with them¹

¹ No further church proceedings are recorded except in the case of Francis Hutchinson. He by letter desired dismission from the church of Boston, which was refused on the ground that there was in the place where he then lived no

church to which to dismise him (Ellis's *Anne Hutchinson*, pp. 338-340). The matter was again brought before the church by Mr. Wilton on the ^{26th}/_{24th} of ^{September}/_{October}; but the record contains nothing of interest, historically or otherwise, with

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the exception of the following from the paper of objections submitted by the members of the church then under discipline, to which objections the answers are, in the record, appended:—

“Objection 4. But the Court hath censured us, and drove us out of the country, and Mr. Winthrop advised us to depart.

“Answer. Mr. Winthrop affirms his advice was not as Governor, nor as the mouth of the Court, but only in Christian love, to depart for a time, till they could

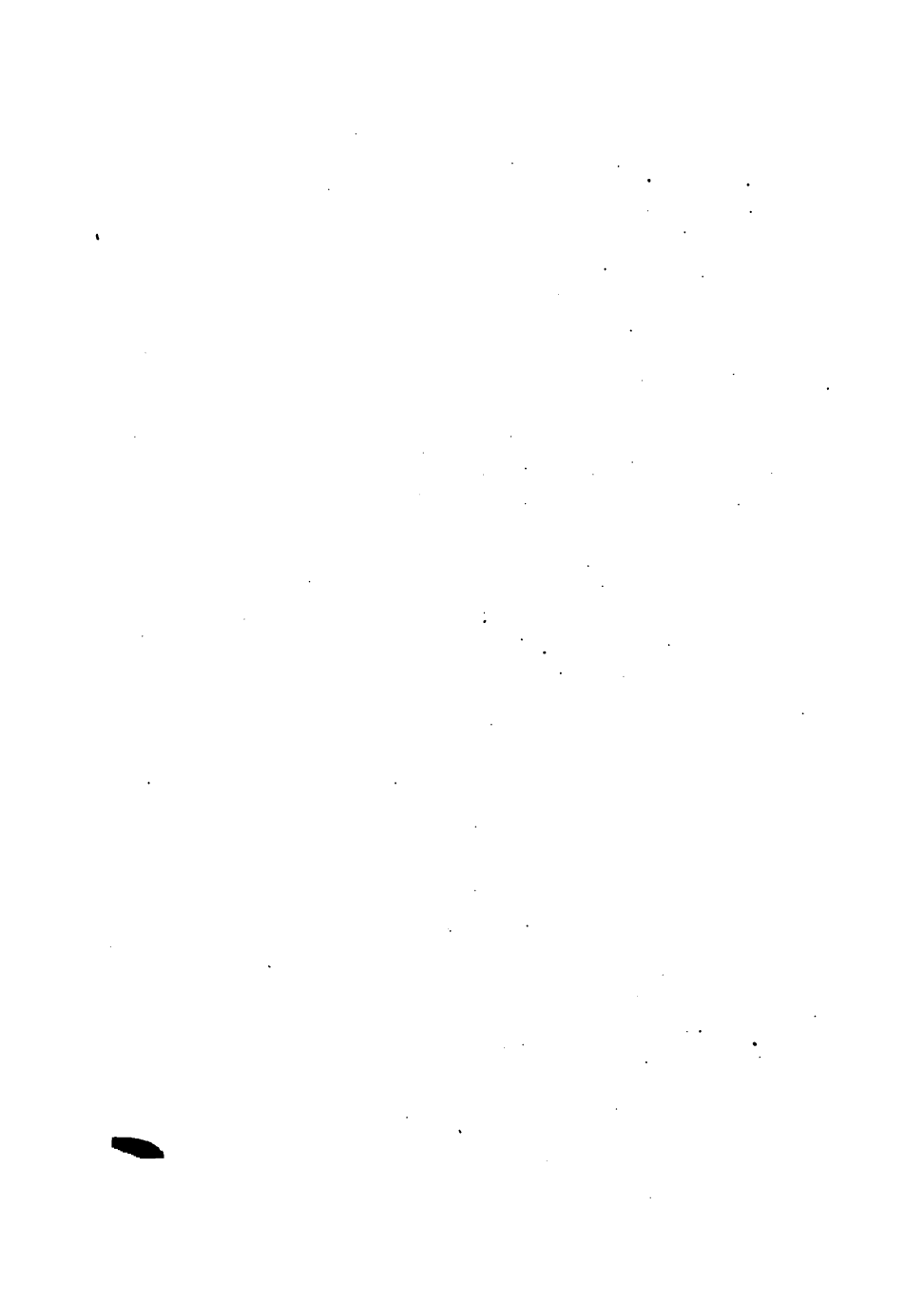
give the Court satisfaction. He answers, he did not advise all to depart, for he persuaded Mr. Coddington earnestly to stay, and did undertake to make his peace with the Court. Neither did the Court banish or drive any away but two, Mr. Aspinwall and Mrs. Hutchinson. Some were under no offence at all with the Court, as our brother Hazard.”

The principal portions of the record in this case are printed by Mr. Ellis in his *Life of Anne Hutchinson*, pp. 343-346.



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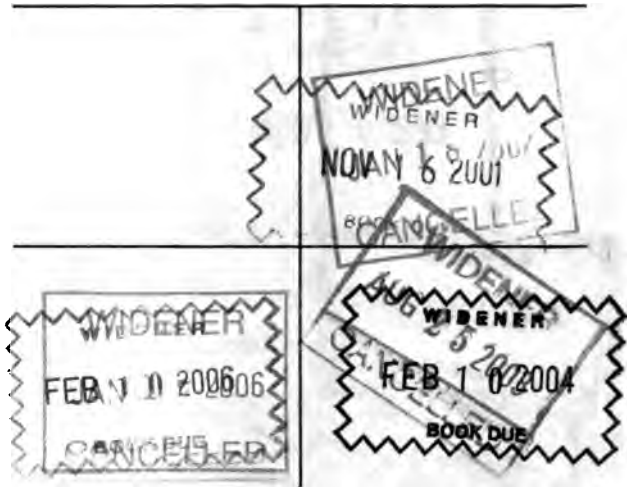
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